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Foundation, Dedication and Consecration in Early Modern Europe

Edited by

Maarten Delbeke and Minou Schraven

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Cover illustrations: Benedetto Briosco, *Duke Gian Galeazzo Visconti and his son lay the first stone of the church at the Certosa in Pavia in August 1396*. Detail of relief in stone originally placed at the entrance, 1501–1514. Museo della Certosa, Pavia.
Medals in the background: Portrait medal of Sigimondo Malatesta with the Castello Sismondo on its reverse. Bears date 1446. Cast bronze, diameter 84mm; portrait medal of Pope Paul II with the Palazzo S. Marco on its reverse. Bears date 1465. Bronze, diameter 33 mm; portrait medal of Pope Sixtus IV with the Ponte Sisto on its reverse. 1473 [bears no date]. Bronze, diameter 40 mm, and portrait medal of Pope Julius II with new St Peter's on its reverse. 1506 [bears no date]. Bronze, diameter 40 mm.

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The idea for the present volume on foundations, dedications and consecrations in early modern culture is rooted in two recent research projects at Leiden and Ghent that developed in parallel and now fortuitously meet in this rich collection of papers. At Leiden University, Minou Schraven developed a post-doctoral research project "Linking Patrons / Buildings. Portrait Medals and Foundation Ceremonies in Early Modern Italy" as part of a larger NWO funded Vici-research project "Art, Agency and Living Presence", directed by Caroline van Eck. Meanwhile, Maarten Delbeke supervised two research projects at Ghent University, generously funded by the Research Foundation – Flanders (FWO), and the Special Research Fund of Ghent University (BOF) aiming to understand how early modern dedication and consecration rituals conferred meaning onto religious buildings in the Southern Netherlands and England. We are very grateful to Bart Verschaffel, Caroline van Eck, Sylvia Van Peteghem and Dirk Sacré, who co-supervised these projects, for their precious input at various stages of these projects. A special word of thanks is due to Lionel Devlieger, who contributed greatly to the writing of the initial proposals as well to the preliminary research on church consecrations in the Southern Netherlands. We also express our thanks to the board of the *Intersections* series, especially Karl Enenkel, Jan de Jong and Christine Murphy, for their support and useful input during the project. Ultimately, we also would like to express gratitude to our authors both for their contributions and their unstinting willingness to revisit their case studies in order to produce this volume.

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FOUNDATION, DEDICATION AND CONSECRATION IN EARLY MODERN EUROPE. AN INTRODUCTION

Maarten Delbeke and Minou Schraven

Across all times and cultures, mankind has invested the act of founding buildings and cities with particular meaning and rituals. As the essays in this volume demonstrate, multiple preoccupations and agendas are at play at foundational moments, be it the laying of the first stone, the dedication of a building, the embarkation upon new territory, or the foundation of a new institution. As a result, the components of the foundation act become heavily endowed with meaning, from the location of the future building, the act of depositing the first stone, to the invocation of prestigious mythical and historical models to add weight to the occasion.

Being associated with the very foundation of human society itself, the foundation act of a building or institution may well become emblematic for a larger entity, such as the city, or indeed the cosmos. This being the case, the image of a founder holds an immense appeal to future generations, and founders across all ages and societies eagerly tap upon the aura of sacrosanctity of founders from a distant, mythical past.[1] In his eulogies composed to praise the reform program, or *Renovatio Romae*, of Pope Sixtus IV della Rovere, the humanist poet Brandolini frequently compared the achievements of the pope to those of the city's mythical founder Romulus and Emperor Augustus, claiming that the pope surpassed them by far.[2] Likewise, American politicians today hope to gain votes with references to the moral examples of the founding fathers, while Iranian president Mahmoud Ahmadinejad

[1] Rykwert J., *The Idea of A Town. The Anthropology of Urban Form in Rome, Italy and the Ancient World* (London: 1976); Eliade M., *The Myth of the Eternal Return. Cosmos and History* (New York: 2005, first published 1949); Lincoln B., *Myth, Cosmos and Society. Indo-European Themes of Creation and Destruction* (Cambridge, Mass. – London: 1988).

[2] Blondin J., "Power Made Visible. Pope Sixtus IV as 'Urbis Restaurator' in Quattrocento Rome", *The Catholic Historical Review* 91, 1 (2005) 1–25; see also the contribution of Schraven to this volume.

takes great pride in likening himself to King Cyrus II (d. 530 BCE), founder of the ancient Persian Empire.[3]

In the same way, also institutions and communities eagerly appropriate the status of mythical founders and meaningful foundation dates in order to enhance their own status and inscribe themselves within history with the capital H. Once humanists in the circle of Pomponio Leto and his Roman Academy had established the date of the supposed foundation of Rome on 21 April, they chose that day for the annual staging of banquets, orations, and the conferral of laurel crowns to poets.[4] Some four centuries later, in 1961, the Brazilian government opted for 21 April as the date of the inauguration of their new modernist capital Brasília, constructed from scratch in the heart of the country. Felicitously, that very date happened to coincide with the date of the discovery of Brazil itself, celebrated on 22 April 1500.[5] During the Fascist Era, Benito Mussolini turned 21 April into the *Festa del Lavoro italiano*, a day off for the nation. Since it happily coincided with the *Dies Natalis* of Rome, over the years numerous archeological and urbanistic projects were inaugurated on that very day, broadcasting the imperial ambitions of the Duce.[6] This being the case, the inauguration of Richard Meier's Ara Pacis museum in Rome on 21 April 2006 remains at best politically sensitive.

Then as now heavily invested with meaning, foundation and inauguration ceremonies are of key importance to establish enduring relationships both between patron, building, and a larger civic or religious community. Because of this relevance for social relationships, foundation ceremonies in late medieval and early modern culture were typically staged as public events of major scale and expenditure, in order to create and consolidate bonds between buildings, communities and beliefs.

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[3] Wood G.S., *Revolutionary Characters. What Made the Founders Different* (New York: 2006).

[4] Beer S. de, "The Roman 'Academy' of Pomponio Leto. From an Informal Humanist Network to the Institution of a Literary Society", in Dixhoorn A. van – Speakman Sutch S. (eds.), *The Reach of the Republic of Letters. Literary and Learned Societies in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe* (Leiden: 2008) 181–218.

[5] Vale L., *Architecture, Power and National Identity* (New Haven: 2009) 105–122; Johnston W.M., *Celebrations. The Cult of Anniversaries in Europe and the United States Today* (New Brunswick: 1991).

[6] Painter B.W., *Mussolini's Rome. Rebuilding the Eternal City* (New York: 2005).

There is an inherent circularity to the notions of foundation, dedication and consecration, because each of these acts marks a new beginning by repeating or recalling a previous or original foundation act. This circle comes into being in a chain of ideas, artifacts and actions. The aim of this volume is to investigate the way foundation acts were performed, described, theorized and appropriated, and how they formed part of a larger network of similar acts across time and space. Several contributions deal with foundations of cities and of religious and civic buildings, examining the ambitious programs pronounced and advocated at those occasions. Other papers examine the ways in which the very act of founding, dedicating or consecrating assumes a crucial role in religious or political disputes. Embodying claims on origins and authority, foundation acts confer meaning and even an aura of sacredness onto both permanent and ephemeral artifacts. Still other contributions investigate the myth of origins in historiography, philosophy and law, and its impact on early modern attempts to explain and legitimate claims on territory and power, which, in turn, became articulated in ceremonies and festivals.

As the essays demonstrate, foundation ceremonies were a true *tour de force*, which required the efforts of the entire network of a patron. Resulting in the much-aspired virtue of magnificence, a successfully staged ceremony served as a showcase of a patron's ability to obtain and distribute favors, managing effectively the contributions of great numbers of participants into one single festival with a coherent program and message.[7] Masters of ceremonies provided the adequate ceremonial model tailored after the specific needs of the patron; members of academies came up with suitable iconographical programs and composed an avalanche of eulogies, orations and theatrical plays to add luster to the occasion. Meanwhile, artists, engineers, craftsmen and musicians worked round the clock to create an ephemeral stage, making use of coats of arms, tapestries, and other props. In some cases, patrons commissioned portrait medals to commemorate the act of foundation. As Berthold Hub and Dagmar Germonprez point out in their contributions to this volume, portrait medals were both distributed among those present at the foundation ceremonies, while a

[7] Bonnemaison S. – Macy C. (eds.), *Festival Architecture* (London: 2008); Mulryne J.R. – Watanabe-O'Kelly H. – Goldring E. (eds.), *Europa Triumphans. Court and Civic Festivals in Early Modern Europe*, 2 vols. (Aldershot: 2004); Strong R., *Art and Power. Renaissance Festivals 1450–1650* (Berkeley, CA: 1984).

number of them was deposited within the foundations along with the first stone. They remained hidden from view as the building materialized, both as votive offerings guaranteeing the longevity of the construction and as a most authoritative ritual form *all'antica* to ensure fame of the patron.[8]

Moreover, patrons needed to assure both the cooperation of civic and religious institutions and the presence and support of the ambassadors of foreign powers residing at their court. In order to have a somewhat more permanent record of all these efforts and expenses, they often recurred to the printing and distribution of one or more festival books. Preserved in archives and libraries across the globe, and increasingly more accessible thanks to digitalization campaigns, these booklets offer a promising first start for the study of festivals, including those of foundation and dedication ceremonies.[9]

Yet, because they were written by courtiers aspiring to future favors from the patron, the narrative of these books is at best a biased one. Presenting the festival in the most favorable terms, they omit any allusion to inconvenience, inadequacy or poor attendance. Indeed, festival books may also have been produced at a considerable distance of the actual event. The Roman Confraternity of the Rosary republished in 1650 the account of their procession during the Jubilee of 1625, since that event had turned out to be far more successful.[10] As the essays in this volume time and again demonstrate, one needs to look beyond these sources, valuable as they are, in order to obtain a more balanced understanding of the matters at hand. Diaries, account books and diplomatic correspondence offer new and unexpected glimpses into the complex reality within which foundation ceremonies needed to be negotiated. Many contributions to this volume reveal this manoeuvr-

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[8] Satzinger G., "Baumedaillen. Formen und Funktionen. Von den Anfängen bis zum Ende des 16. Jahrhunderts", in Satzinger, G. (ed.), *Die Renaissance-Medaille in Italien und Deutschland* (Münster: 2004) 99–124; Schraven M., "Out of Sight, Yet Still in Place. On the Use of Italian Renaissance Portrait Medals as Building Deposits", *RES* 55–56 (2009) 182–193.

[9] Watanabe-O'Kelly H., "The Early Modern Festival Book. Function and Form", in Mulryne – Watanabe-O'Kelly – Goldring, *Europa Triumphans* 3–18; among the many digitized collections of festival books are to be mentioned those of the British Library and the Warburg Institute in London; the Getty Research Institute in Los Angeles; the Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library in New Haven; and the Herzog August Bibliothek in Wolffenbüttel.

[10] Delbeke M., "Framing History. The Jubilee of 1625, the Dedication of New Saint Peter's and the Baldacchino", in Bonnemaison – Macy, *Festival Architecture* 142.

ing in complex situations, such as the case of the foundation of the small town Pienza in Tuscany, named after its founder Pope Pius II Piccolomini (d. 1452); the invention of an uncontaminated ceremonial model for the foundation and consecration of reformed and Anglican churches; or the foundation of academic institutions, such as the Royal Observatory in Paris.

As results from the papers in this volume, the study of foundation ceremonies and a true understanding of their meaning and relevance within society asks for an authentic interdisciplinary approach, taking into account ceremonial models, oftentimes conflicting intentions of patrons and institutions, and the vast production of both permanent and ephemeral artifacts in support of the foundation ceremonies, such as festival books, orations, portrait medals and itineraries of processions.

The importance attached to foundation, dedication and consecration of buildings, cities or states convey particular significance upon the actors, objects and agendas involved. Foundational moments establish a very powerful nexus, in which meaning is communicated from one social group to another (from the ruler to his subjects, from the scholar to the layman, from the clergy to the congregation), or transferred from one medium to another, such as coins to buildings, buildings to books, books to ceremonies, or ceremonies to histories. This way, a wide and seemingly unrelated range of abstract legal, philosophical, religious or political notions becomes suddenly palpable, condensed as they are into artifacts as small as coins or as ephemeral as sermons. For this reason, the study of foundation acts and rituals offers a new way to investigate the multifaceted agency of objects and ideas. It helps to understand in which ways these objects convey meaning, and to what extent their effect is protracted both over space and in time.

A considerable number of essays in this volume deal with foundation ceremonies of buildings, and the consecration of sacred space in the early modern period. As demonstrated in the contributions of Roger Crum, Almut Pollmer and Bernward Schmitt, Berthold Hub, Dagmar Germonprez, Anne-Françoise Morel, and Andrew Spicer, the overall importance attached to tradition is constantly negotiated and adapted to specific social and dogmatic needs. Indeed, the religious struggles of the sixteenth and seventeenth century made it imperative to secure sound footing for religious buildings and institutions as well as the very rituals involved in their foundation. The Jesuit order had a particular interest in propagating their foundations with all possible

luster and spectacle, given that their ability to perform these acts added legitimacy to their presence in cities across Europe.[11]

Some founding acts have a long historiography, such as Panofsky's work on the foundation of St Denis by Abbot Suger in 1140.[12] Over the years, the foundation of new St Peter's in Rome in April 1506 has rightly attracted considerable scholarly attention. A number of popes, among them Pope Paul III, Gregory XIII, Sixtus V, and Paul V took immense pride in celebrating partial conclusions of the vast project of rebuilding new St Peter's, culminating in the consecration by Pope Urban VIII of the new altar under the emerging *Baldacchino* in 1626.[13] The Constantinian foundation of the Lateran and its resonance in early modern Rome has been of equally great importance and inspiration.[14]

The culminating moment of foundation ceremonies of churches was the laying of the first stone, a ritual act with strong cosmogonical associations.[15] Of fundamental importance for their meaning was a passage in the Scriptures, where Christ identified himself as the corner stone mentioned in the Old Testament (*Psalm* 117: 22; *Matthew* 21: 42). Furthermore, a passage in Paul's epistle to the *Ephesians* 2: 12–22 named Christ as the cornerstone that united both Jews and Gentiles into a single spiritual edifice of the Church. This way, the cornerstone of any church became directly associated with Christ himself, as the literal and figural support for the church and its community.[16] Codified for the first time in the *Liber Pontificalis* of Guillaume Durand (d. 1296), the ceremony of the laying of the first stone was performed

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[11] See, for instance, Jacob Gretser, *Triumphus Divi Michaelis Archangeli Bavarici: Triumph des Heiligen Michael, Patron Bayerns (Munich, Henricus: 1597)*, ed. B. Bauer – J. Leonhardt (Regensburg: 2000).

[12] Panofsky E., *Abbot Suger on the Abbey Church of Saint-Denis and its Treasures* (Princeton: 1946).

[13] Satzinger G. – Schütze S. (eds.), *Sankt Peter in Rom 1506–2006* (Bonn: 2008) with contributions of Nikolaus Staubach and Sible de Blaauw; Delbeke, "Framing History".

[14] Freiberg J., *The Lateran in 1600. Christian Concord in Counter-Reformation Rome* (Cambridge – N.Y.: 1995).

[15] Untermann M., "*Primus lapis in fundamentum deponitur*. Kunsthistorische Überlegungen zur Funktion der Grundsteinlegung im Mittelalter", *Cistercienser. Brandenburgische Zeitschrift rund um das Cisterciensische Erbe* 6 (2003) 5–18; Rowald P., *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Grundsteinlegung* (Hannover: 1904).

[16] Ladner G., "The Symbolism of the Biblical Corner Stone in the Medieval West", *Mediaeval Studies* 4 (1942) 43–60; Staubach N., "Der ritus der *impositio primarii lapidis* und die Grundsteinlegung von Neu-Sankt Peter", in Satzinger – Schütze, *Sankt Peter in Rom* 29–40.

by a bishop, who would bless the square stone and the site of the future altar. The stone, inscribed with crosses and often the name of the bishop and the year, was then placed on the confinement of two walls.[17]

But the notion of foundation stones is of course much older than the Christian tradition, the Foundation Rock on Temple Mount in Jerusalem being venerated as Center of the World by both Jews and Muslims. As recounted in Isaiah, God would have trapped the primordial waters of the abyss under this massive stone. To the Jews, this is the place where once stood the Temple of Solomon with the Holy of Holiest, until it was destroyed by the Romans in 70 CE. On their turn, the Muslims identify the Rock as the place where Mohammed ascended to heaven with archangel Gabriel: after his return on earth, he would have founded Islamic religion.

Be it in the Dome of the Rock, a Christian church or a renaissance palace, the symbolical meaning of the foundation stone bestows the act of building with a metaphorical value that is not easy to dismiss: the building becomes an emblem of the Church or the State, and its vicissitudes come to prophesize or confirm their fate. At the same time, the stone is believed to generate both space and form of new constructions. As is particularly well illustrated in Filarete's *Libro architettonico*, discussed in the essay of Berthold Hub, the foundation stone introduces a unit of measure and often a particular geometrical shape, providing a reference point for the lay-out of the plan of a building or an entire city.

Often, patrons asked astrologers to indicate the most propitious date and time to start the new project, seeking analogies with the birth horoscope of the patron, or with the history of the building itself.[18] Performed by an authoritative person (the bishop or indeed the patron), and witnessed by the entire community, the foundation act had an explicit public character, as to demonstrate the community's support for the undertaking. Humanist orators underlined the historical

[17] Untermann, "*Primus Lapis*; Bindung G. – Linscheid S., *Planen und Bauen in frühen und hohen Mittelalter nach den Schriftquellen bis 1250* (Darmstadt: 2002) 157–178.

[18] For instance, new St Peter's in Rome was founded on the Saturday before Easter of 1506, since it was believed that Constantine the Great (d. 337) had founded the old basilica on that very same day; Quinlan-McGrath M., "The Foundation Horoscope(s) for St Peter's basilica. Choosing A Time, Changing the Storia", *Isis* 92 (2001) 716–741.

significance of the occasion.[19] Sometimes, bystanders were asked to join in taking up shovels and stones, as was the case for the foundation ceremonies of Palazzo Strozzi in Florence (August 1489) or those of the Bentivoglio tower in Bologna (March 1489).[20]

Meanwhile, the literary and cultural program of humanism propagated a deliberate return *ad fontes*, conceived almost without exception as a return to canonical, classical authors and models.[21] As Brian Maxson's contribution reveals, the humanists in Florence embraced a new foundation history in the work of Leonardo Bruni, which identified the city as independent right from its foundation during the last years of the Roman Republic. Likewise, the Iberian monarchs were in search of an alternative past that could outdo Rome as a historical point of reference. Ferdinand and Isabella, the *reyes católicos*, were courted by the ever-resourceful Annius of Viterbo (1432–1502). In his *Antiquities*, dedicated to the monarchs, he presented them with a most appealing ancestry, dating back as far as the Old Testamentical patriarch Noa. After the Great Deluge, Noa would have landed as Janus on one of the seven hills of Rome (the Janiculus, of course, which was then named after him), long before Romulus and Remus were even born.[22]

Yet, at the same time, the early modern period also witnessed interest in vernacular, non-Roman traditions. In Tacitus' *Historia*, Dutch humanists learnt about the successful revolt of German tribes against Roman rule in 69 and 70 CE. To the Dutch, the revolt of the Batavians resonated with their own struggle for independence from Spanish rule during the Eighty Years War. They identified themselves particularly with the Batavians, a Germanic tribe residing in the Rhine Delta that had bravely resisted Roman dominion. Examining archeological

[19] Eck C. van, "Giannozzo Manetti on Architecture: the *Oratio de secularibus et pontificalibus pompis in consecratione basilicae florentinae* of 1436", *Renaissance Studies* 12 (1998) 449–475. See also the contribution of Roger J. Crum in this volume.

[20] Schraven M., "Foundation Ceremonies in Renaissance Italy. The Case of the Bentivoglio Tower in Bologna (1489)", in Michaels A. (ed.), *Ritual Dynamics and the Science of Ritual*, 5 vols. (Wiesbaden: 2010) vol. V, 339–357.

[21] Rothstein M., "Etymology, Genealogy, and the Immutability of Origins", *Renaissance Quarterly* 43 (1990) 332–347.

[22] Rowland I., "Bramante's Hetruscan Tempietto", *Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome* 51 (2006) 225–238; Folger R., *Generaciones y semblanzas. Memory and Genealogy in Medieval Iberian Historiography* (Tübingen: 2003); Kagan R.L., *Clio and History. The Politics of History in Medieval and Early Modern Spain* (Baltimore: 2009).

remains for evidence of the Batavian past, the early modern Dutch elite claimed a direct relationship to the *Batavi*. In 1619, the recently conquered port city Jayakarta in the Indonesian archipelago was renamed Batavia, in honor of the mythical Dutch ancestors.[23]

Likewise, humanists in early modern Sweden embraced the history of the Goths.[24] In early modern England and Germany, humanists developed an interest in local heritage in customs, monuments and law. Making use of a vast network of correspondents and learning Welsh and Old English to read old sources and monuments first-hand, humanist and antiquarian William Camden (1551–1623) wrote the first comprehensive antiquarian study of Great Britain and Ireland, 'to restore antiquity to Britaine, and to Britaine to its antiquity'. First published in 1587, *Britannia* was reprinted several times and translated from Latin into English in 1610.[25] As the contribution of Colin Wilder demonstrates, jurists in the Holy Roman Empire equally combined their interest in Roman law with of Germanic law, in order to legitimize certain jurisdictional institutions and customs of their own day.[26]

All essays show the venerable character of founding histories and their remarkable versatility and resilience. Communities, aristocratic families and institutions constantly updated their histories of origins, whenever circumstances dictated it.[27] Names and memories of those founders whose history had proved to be a dead end were erased as soon as better candidates presented themselves. Seeking favors from a new comitial family, the monks at St Peter in Montmajour near Arles, for instance, happily adopted Charlemagne as founder of their monastery, instead of the real founder Hugo of Arles, King of Italy

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[23] Langereis S., *Geschiedenis als ambacht. Oudheidkunde in de Gouden Eeuw. Arnoldus Buchelius en Petrus Scriverius* (Hilversum: 2001); Swinkels L. (ed.), *De Bataven. Verhalen van een verdwenen volk* (Amsterdam: 2004); Nicolet C., *La fabrique d'une nation. La France entre Rome et les Germains* (Paris: 2003).

[24] Johannesson K. – Larson J., *The Renaissance of the Goths in Sixteenth-Century Sweden. Johannes and Olaus Magnus as Politicians and Historians* (Berkeley: 1991).

[25] William Camden, *Britannia* (London, F. Collins for A. Swolle: 1695): facsimile edition, ed. and trsl. R.J. Mayhew (Thoemmes Continuum: 2003); Parry G., *Trophies of Time. English Antiquarians of the Seventeenth Century* (Oxford: 2008).

[26] Vine A., "Etymology, Names and the Search for Origins in Early Modern England", *Seventeenth Century Journal* 21 (2006) 1–21.

[27] Bizzocchi R., *Genealogie incredibili. Scritti di storia nell'Europa moderna* (Bologna: 1995); Münkler H., "Nationale Mythen im Europa der Frühen Neuzeit. Zur Relevanz mythischer Narrationen bei der Nationalisierung Europas", *Vorträge aus dem Warburg-Haus* 1 (1997) 107–143.

(926–945). Hugo's legacy was pushed into the margins of history, to be virtually forgotten until being 'resuscitated' by the studies of Patrick Geary.[28] In some cases, authorities went as far as forging objects to support invented ancestries, such as the lead books, the so-called *Plomos del Sacromonte*, which should support the view that there had existed a Christian community in Granada, well before the advent of Islam.[29] Indeed, as Jorge Correia's essay on Portuguese settlements in Northern Africa illustrates, in case of radically changing circumstances, buildings, cities, institutions, laws or dynasties may become the subject of *re*foundations. Refoundations sometimes blithely ignore existing histories and circumstances, but more often they proceed by means of more or less subtle acts of appropriation, as when mosques are changed into basilicas with minor architectural interventions. In other case, a site and its symbolism is effectively reappropriated: capitalizing upon the fortuitous resemblance between his own heraldry and the iconography of the pilgrimage church of Scherpenheuvel in the Southern Netherlands, Pope Alexander VII (r. 1655–1667) effectively claiming the pilgrimage shrine as his own with an elaborate foundation ceremony.[30] Finally, the refoundation ceremony could be conceived of as a moment of victory over the spoils of vanquished foes. During his pontificate, Pope Sixtus V (r. 1585–1590) famously erected four ancient obelisks in front of the main basilicas of Rome. The ancient Romans had transported the obelisks as spoils from Egypt to adorn their circuses. After the fall of Rome, most obelisks had fallen apart and been covered with mud. Recovering them from the earth and setting them up in front of the city's basilica's with festive inauguration ceremonies, the obelisks became markers of the triumph of Christianity over paganism. To underscore this post-Tridentine message, the

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[28] Geary P., *Phantoms of Remembrance. Memory and Oblivion at the End of the First Millennium* (Princeton University Press: 1994) 134–146; Remensnyder A.G., "Croyance et communauté. La mémoire des origines des abbayes bénédictines", *Mélanges de l'École française de Rome. Moyen Age* 115 (2003) 141–154.

[29] Harris A.K., *From Muslim to Christian Granada. Inventing A City's Past in Early Modern Spain* (Baltimore: 2007).

[30] Delbeke M., "A Note on the Immaculist Patronage of Alexander VII. Chigi and the Pilgrimage Church of Scherpenheuvel", *Bulletin de l'Institut Historique Belge à Rome* 71 (2001) 167–200.

bases of the newly erected obelisks were inscribed with proclamations of the Christian triumph and topped with Christian crosses.[31]

David Lowenthal once remarked, 'the present is not just the past's inheritor, but its active partner, reanimating the sleeping, excavating the buried, and reworking a legacy in line with present needs.'[32] As a consequence, the study of foundation moments and their afterlife offer a key insight in ideas about identity, memory and meaning of a given community. The essays in this volume demonstrate that in each single case study there is the conscious effort to inscribe oneself in the past by means of adhering to tradition and authoritative models. Yet, because of the deliberate choices in privileging certain aspects of the past over others, the essays also make clear that there is still much to be gained from a comparative and interdisciplinary approach that comprises the study of art and architecture, linguistics, history of law, of ideas, and anthropology.

[31] Cole M., "Perpetual Exorcism in Sistine Rome", in Cole M. – Zorach R. (eds.), *The Idol in the Age of Art. Objects, Devotions and the Early Modern World* (Aldershot, 2009) 56–76.

[32] Lowenthal D., *The Heritage Crusade and the Spoils of History* (New York: 1998) 141.

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I. FOUNDATION AND THE HUMANIST QUEST FOR ORIGINS

FOUNDING AN IDEAL CITY IN FILARETE'S *LIBRO ARCHITETTONICO* (C. 1460)

Berthold Hub

Antonio di Pietro Averlino, who called himself Filarete (friend or lover of virtue), was born around 1400 and educated in Florence – probably as a goldsmith. He served at the court of Pope Eugene IV in Rome in the 1430s and 1440s, working on the famous bronze door of St. Peter's.[1] Fleeing from Rome after the death of the Pope in 1447, he spent several years between Rimini, Todi, Mantua and the Veneto region, before being awarded a position at the court of Francesco Sforza in Milan in 1451. Over the next fifteen years, he worked as Master Builder on the city's most prestigious building projects, such as the Cathedral, the Castello Sforzesco, and the Ospedale Maggiore.

However, none of these projects was ever finished, due to disputes both between the Duke and the local aristocracy, and between the Florentine architect and local master builders and craftsmen. Disillusioned, from 1460 onwards Filarete devoted himself almost exclusively to the writing of his monumental *Libro architettonico*, the only 'architectural' masterpiece he was ever to complete. Written in Italian, the book is a dialogue between the author and his patrons Duke Francesco Sforza of Milan and his son Galeazzo Maria Sforza, about the planning, foundation and construction of an ideal city, named Sforzinda after its patrons, and its port Plusiapolis ('Rich City').[2]

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[1] On Filarete and his *Libro architettonico*, see, most recently, the essays published in Hub B. (ed.), *Architettura e Umanesimo: Nuovi studi su Filarete*, Arte Lombarda 150,1 (Milan: 2009).

[2] In 1464, Filarete had dedicated his book to Francesco Sforza. Two years later, he wrote a new dedication to Piero de' Medici, adding a twenty-fifth book praising Medici patronage. The original has been lost; the most important extant manuscript is the *Codex Magliabechianus II.I.140* in the Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Firenze (hereinafter cited as *Magl.*); Antonio Averlino Filarete, *Trattato di architettura*, ed. A.M. Finoli – L. Grassi, 2 vols. (Milan: 1972). Hereafter, the work is cited from: Antonio Averlino Filarete, *Treatise on Architecture: Being the Treatise by Antonio di Piero Averlino, known as Filarete*, ed. and trsl. J.R. Spencer, 2 vols. (New Haven: 1965), vol. I: The Translation, vol. II: The Facsimile. The misleading title 'Trattato di Architettura', has

Ground Plan

Regarding the outline of Sforzinda, Filarete succinctly noted in Book II that 'the basic form is two squares, one atop the other without the angles touching. One angle will be equidistant from two other angles in each square'.[3] The text is accompanied by two illustrations. The first, small one shows the interlocking squares inscribed within a circle and placed without distortion in a landscape [Fig. 1].[4] The same figure recurs slightly later in the text, but much larger and with a double circle around it.[5] Book VI on the placement of the streets, canals and central square or squares contains a third pattern, which resembles to a proper ground plan of Sforzinda [Fig. 2].[6]

The emphasis is clearly on an octagonal star formed by the two superimposed squares and on a circle around them, which represent the city wall (the octagonal) and the defensive moat (the circle). Eight major streets and eight canals lead from the city gates at the intersections of the squares and from the bastions to a structure of squares in the centre of the pattern. A ring road crosses them about halfway their length, opening up a series of squares at each of the intersections, to serve as centres for trade and public life in the various districts of the city. The city centers on the main central square, while an aqueduct supplies the population with fresh water, thus ensuring the navigability of the canals and the cleaning of the streets.

In his second book, Filarete had intended to mark the centre of the circular city of Sforzinda with a cosmic tower, symbolizing the cycle of the year [Fig. 3].[7] Built at the centre of the city, at its highest point, from where the water flows – the cosmic tower undoubtedly recalled the old tradition of the *axis mundi* on the mountain of the world.[8] As I have

recently been abandoned in favour of the 'architettonico libro', as Filarete described the work himself.

[3] Lib. II, *Magl.*, fol. 13r; ed. Spencer I, 25.

[4] Ibidem, fol. 11v.

[5] Ibidem, fol. 13v.

[6] Lib. VI, *Magl.*, fol. 43r.

[7] Lib. II, *Magl.*, fol. 14r. The tower has as many windows as the year has days, while its height is 365 *braccia*, 183 metres. The tower is divided in 12 parts, representing the months of the year. Hub B., "La planimetria di Sforzinda: un'interpretazione", in Hub, *Architettura e Umanesimo* 81–96, in particular 88–89.

[8] Lib. VI, *Magl.*, fols. 37v–42v. On the tradition of the *omphalos* and the *axis mundi* see Kauhsen B., *Omphalos. Zum Mittelpunktsgedanken in Architektur und Städtebau dargestellt an ausgewählten Beispielen* (Munich: 1990).

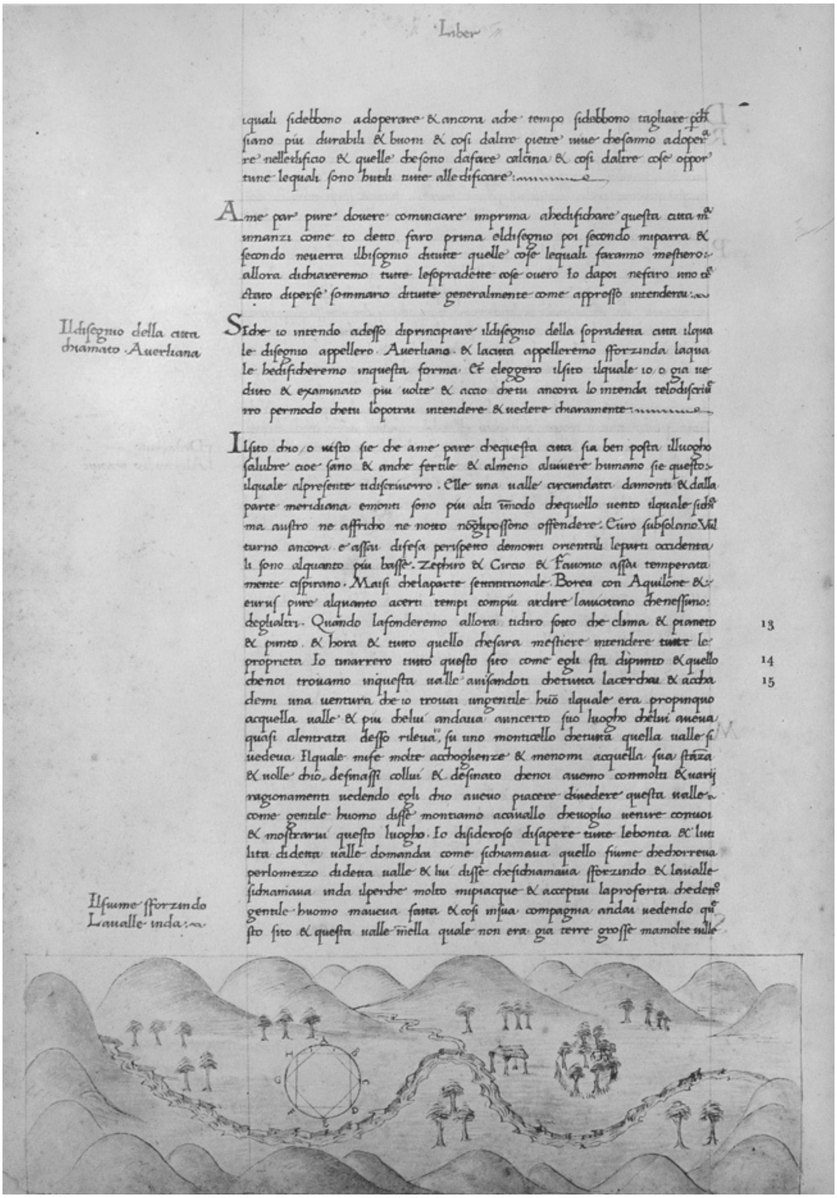

Fig. 1. Filarete, *Inda valley*, c. 1460. Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Codex Magliabechianus II.I.140, fol. 11v (© Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale).

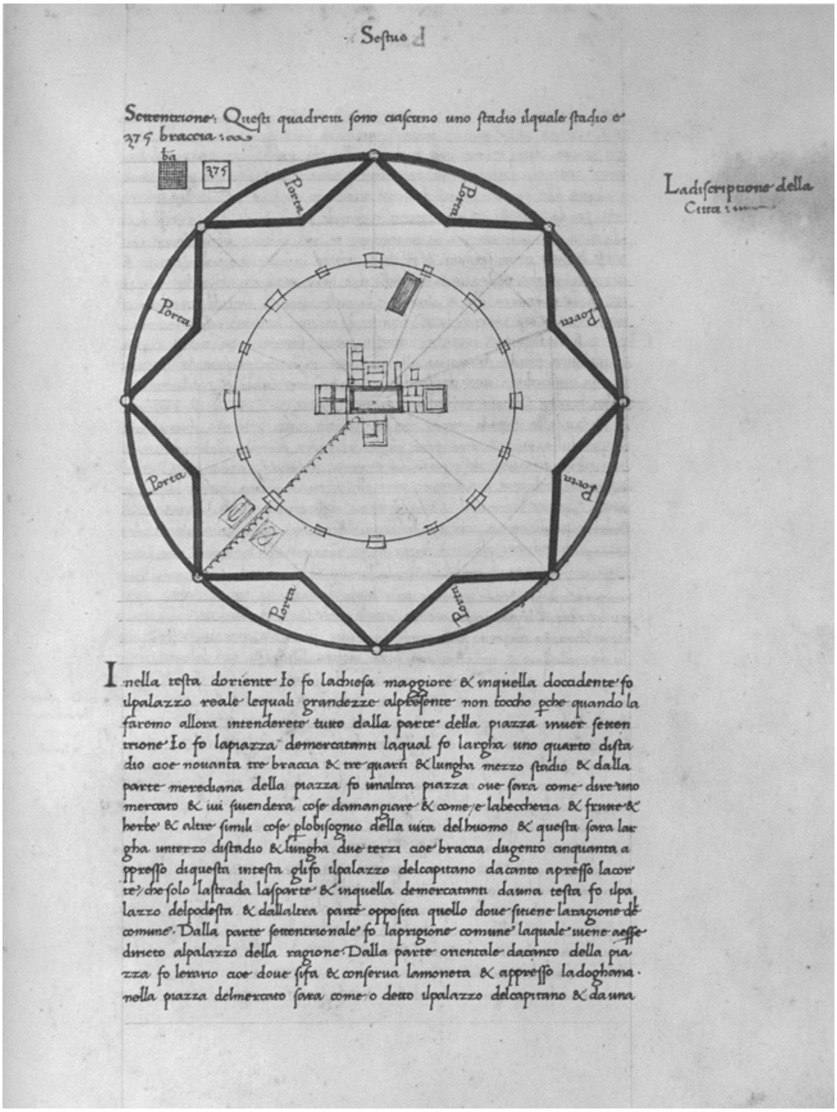

Fig. 2. Filarete, *Ground plan of Sforzinda*, c. 1460. Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Codex Magliabechianus II.I.140, fol. 43r (© Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale).

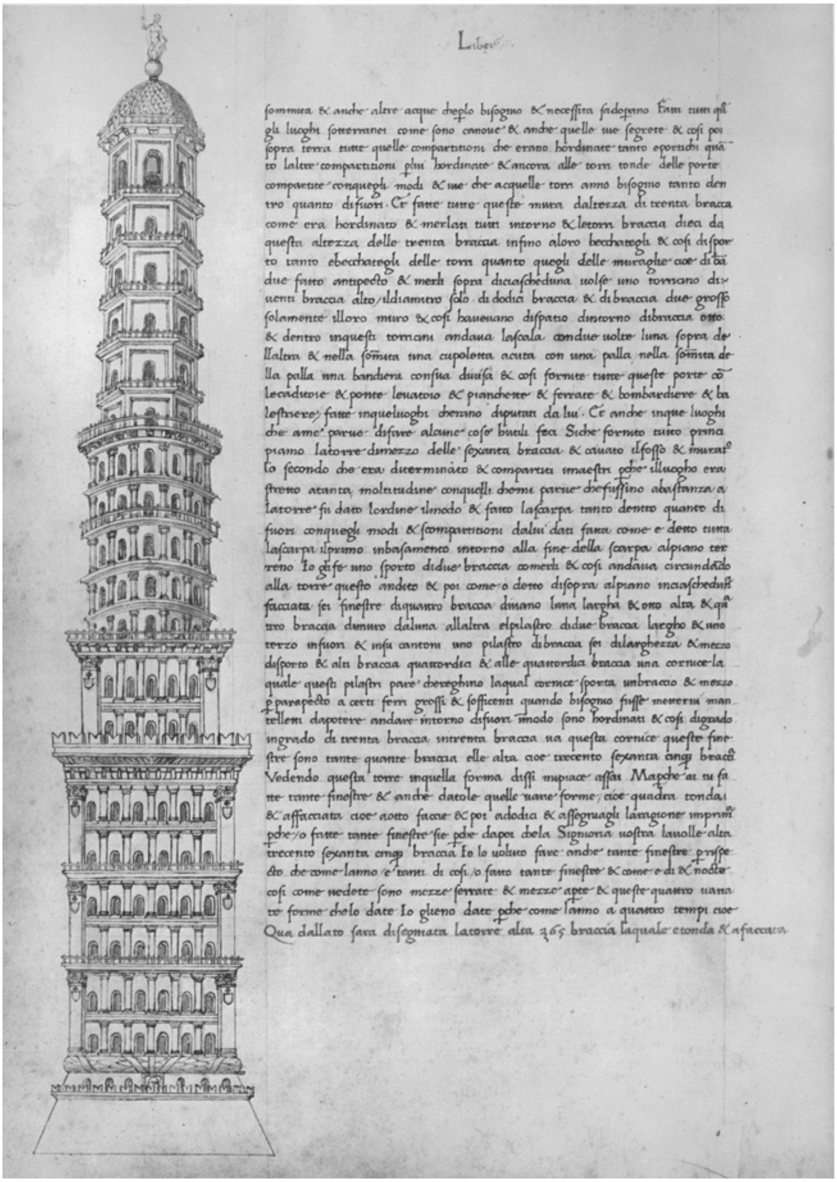

Fig. 3. Filarete, *Calendar tower at the centre of the city*, c. 1460. Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Codex Magliabechianus II.I.140, fol. 41v (© Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale).

argued elsewhere, this city design goes well beyond the demonstration of a new, rational and geometrically precise paradigm for design practice, or the presentation of an idealized version of Milan. Instead, Sforzinda represents a world-picture or cosmogram: its interlocking squares inscribed within a circle take up the Aristotelian scheme of the four primary elements and four basic qualities. As such, they are also encountered both in contemporary treatises on astronomy, astrology and alchemy and in the pictorial tradition.[9] In this ground plan, Filarete provided his patrons Francesco and Galeazzo Maria Sforza with a diagram of the universal and eternal qualities of their rule. Moreover, the plan reflects the architect's claim to universal validity and the efficacy of architectural invention.

On top of that, Filarete was also concerned with re-creating the divine creation by means of sophisticated knowledge of cosmic structures, as is evident from the detailed description of the foundation ceremonies of the new city. Besides various propitiatory omens and exorcist rites intended to endow the newly founded city with permanence and prosperity, the foundation ceremonies are characterized by a variety of cosmogonic images, such as the human sacrifice, the serpent as the protector of the centre of life located at the tree of life, and the cosmic hierogamy between heaven and earth represented by the unification of the eagle and serpent. Filarete deliberately stayed clear from Etruscan–Roman rites of *city* foundation familiar to his contemporaries, such as auspices proclaimed by augurs or the cutting of the *sulcus primigenius*. Instead, he turned to older and universal cosmogonical myths. This way, the historical foundation of the city is related to the divine creation of the world at the origins of time, repeating the divine act of creation in a physical and symbolic form. The foundation ceremony is thus a return to primordial unity, wholeness, and harmony, ensuring wisdom, wealth and stability for the new cosmos. Ultimately, the universally educated 'Renaissance' architect claims to provide with his architecture a fundamental and permanent renewal of society through a renewal of the built environment, improving the individual human being and human society. In this ideal foundation of a city, Filarete is literally creating a new world.

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[9] Hub B., "La planimetria di Sforzinda" 81–96.

Astrology and the Moment of Foundation

In Book XV, Filarete identified astrology as one of the key disciplines for the architect, 'for he should see to it that [the building] is begun under an auspicious planet and constellation'.[10] Already at the beginning of his *Libro*, Filarete had noted that mankind, individual buildings and cities are all subject to the influence of the planets:

> You can say, one eats, and even so one dies. The building also must decline through time just as one [person] dies sooner than another or has better or poorer health. Many times this comes from the complexion, that is, from being born under better planets or better signs. The building also declines more or less rapidly according to the goodness of the material and also according to the sign or planet under which it was built.[11]

Then follows a much-quoted passage, in which Filarete compares the planning and construction of a building with the conception and birth of a child:

> As [it is] with man himself, so [it is] with the building. First it is conceived, using a simile such as you can understand, and then it is born [...] Since no one can conceive by himself without a woman, by another simile, the building cannot be conceived by one man alone. As it cannot be done without a woman, so he who wishes to build needs an architect. He conceives it with him and then the architect carries it. When the architect has given birth, he becomes the mother of the building. Before the architect gives birth, he should dream about his conception, think about it, and turn it over in his mind in many ways for seven to nine months, just as a woman carries her child in her body for seven to nine months.[12]

This reasoning implies that, as for human beings, the fate of buildings and entire cities can be known by establishing their birth horoscope. The symbolic formulation at this point is unique, but the idea of establishing horoscopes for all sorts of buildings has a long tradition. Cicero, for example, mentioned in his *De Divinatione* how Lucius Tarentius Firmanus calculated the constellations of the planets and stars on 21 April 753 B.C., the day of the legendary founding of Rome,

[10] Lib. XV, *Magl.*, fols. 113r–113v, here 113v; ed. Spencer I, 198.
[11] Lib. I, *Magl.*, fol. 7r; ed. Spencer I, 14. A similar passage is found in Lib. I, *Magl.*, fol. 2v.
[12] Lib. II, *Magl.*, fol. 7v; ed. Spencer I, 16. Cf. below, note 42.

in an attempt to predict the future of both the city and the Roman Empire.[13]

In Filarete's book, the most favourable cosmic moment for laying the city's foundation stone is established with great care. Compared to the birth of a human being, it is far easier to determine with precision the start of an architectural work. If a birth horoscope can be established for a human being, Filarete reasons, and if it is true that both buildings and human beings undergo the same fate, then the most favourable moment for its future *must* be sought for a building created by man. Here again, Filarete is following up on the long and well-documented tradition of observing the constellation of the planets for the construction of individual buildings or entire cities, political events and military enterprises.[14] During the Middle Ages and early modern period, numerous astronomical and astrological handbooks commented on the subject, as well as the chroniclers of individual cities.[15] Filarete's contemporaries Leon Battista Alberti and Francesco di Giorgio Martini also advised to commence building when the constellation of the planets was propitious.[16]

In Filarete's *Libro architettonico*, the patron asked the court astrologer to identify the most favourable moment for laying the foundation stone.[17] The astrologer came up with 15 April 1460 at 10.20 a.m., the precise moment that the sun enters Aries, the first sign of the zodiac. Tellingly, this very moment coincides with what is known as the *thema*

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[13] Cicero, *De divinatione* II, 98–99. Also Alberti refers to this passage in *De re aedificatoria* II.13.

[14] See, for example, Grafton A. – Swerdlow N.M., "Technical Chronology and Astrological History in Varro, Censorinus, and Others", *Classical Quarterly* 35 (1985) 454–465; Pingree E., "The Horoscope of Constantinople", in Maeyama Y. – Saltzer W.G. (eds.), *Prismata. Naturwissenschaftliche Studien. Festschrift Willy Hartner* (Wiesbaden: 1977) 133–150; Preger T., "Das Gründungsdatum von Konstantinopel", *Hermes* 36 (1901) 336–342. See also Pseudo-Ptolemäus, *Karpos* (Centiloquium), ed. A.S. Boer, *Claudii Ptolemaei opera quae exstant omnia*, 3 vols. (Leipzig: 1961), vol. III.2 38, 39, 42, 44–5, 49.

[15] See Castelli P., "'Caeli enarrant': Astrologia e città", in Martinella R. – Nuti L. (eds.), *Le città di fondazione. Atti del 2º Convegno internazionale di storia urbanistica* (Lucca: 1977) 173–193; and Hub, "La planimetria di Sforzinda".

[16] Leon Battista Alberti, *De re aedificatoria* I.6 and II.13. Francesco di Giorgio Martini, *Trattati di architettura ingegneria e arte militare*, ed. C. Maltese, 2 vols. (Milan: 1967), vol. II, 294.

[17] Lib. IV, *Magl.*, fols. 24v–25r; ed. Spencer I, 43–44: 'In the sixtieth [year] of this millennium, on the fifteenth day of April at 21 minutes after 10, it will be suitable to lay the first stone for the building of a city. At this time, a fixed earthly sign will be in the ascendancy at the rising of the sun'.

mundi, the calculation of the planetary constellation at the time when God created the world, at least according to early modern literary and pictorial traditions.[18]

Consecration of the Site

For the foundation of their ideal city, the Sforza family was said to gather on 15 April 1460 in Milan along with the architect, the bishop, and eight aristocratic guests, invited by Francesco Sforza. What follows is a mixture of an ecclesiastical consecration rite, a foundation-stone ceremony, sympathetic magic, pagan augury practices, and a veritable cosmogony.[19]

The architect acted as Master of Ceremonies. Following his instructions, the participants advanced in procession with the Duke and the bishop in pontifical robes at their head, accompanied by music, song and prayer. Behind them followed eight secular dignitaries and Filarete, each of them holding an object chosen again by the architect for the foundation ceremony (Filarete himself carried a clay vessel containing victuals). This way, the procession proceeded 'with great solemnity and joy' across the Inda valley to the site of the future city, where ropes marked off the city walls, its gates and the main streets and canals. Once they had reached the site, according to Filarete, the procession paced forth 'as if it had been in a city made in this form' – which must be interpreted as a ritual circumambulation and inspection of the site.[20]

Finally, the procession gathered at the location of the future city walls. The bishop 'performed a solemn ceremony suitable to such

[18] More detail on this point is given in Hub B., "La planimetria di Sforzinda" 92. By contrast, Pieper regarded this horoscope as an exact replica of the horoscope produced for the laying of the foundation stone of Pienza by Pope Pius II. See Pieper J., *Pienza. Der Entwurf einer humanistischen Weltsicht* (Stuttgart: 1997) 112–113.

[19] Lib. IV, *Magl.*, fols. 25r–30r; cf. fol. 41r; a partial explanation is found in fols. 45r–45v. Only Sinisi S., *Filarete nascosto* (Salerno: 1971) 27–31, paid attention to these events, without exhausting their symbolic significance.

[20] Lib. IV, *Magl.*, fol. 26v; ed. Spencer I, 46. Spencer's translation needs correction here (Spencer: 'Here the procession began in good order and with solemn chants it advanced decked and ornate as if it had been in a city. It was in this form: the bishop came first…'; cf. Filarete, *Magl.*: 'E con solenni canti andavano, parati e ornati come se fussino stati in una città fatta in questa forma; passati tutti, il vescovo…'; *Trattato di architettura*, ed. A.M. Finoli – L. Grassi, vol. I, 107–108.

an act and blessed the stone, the site, and everything else'.[21] He then took a spade and dug 'three times as symbolic of the Holy Trinity, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, and in praise of the Trinity', and in reference to the three times – past, present and future.[22] The Duke and all those present followed his example. Finally, everybody joined in a banquet, 'in an act of charity so that the men who are to inhabit the city will be charitable and loving with each other'.[23] In the meantime, the workers continued to dig a hole for the foundation stone.

Laying of the Foundation Stone and Foundation Deposit

As the moment for the laying of the first stone came near, the Duke and his retinue, the bishop and the architect stepped down into the excavation pit with the objects for deposition. First, the Duke and the bishop laid the first stone (of marble) in the foundations, inscribed with the date and the names of the city's founder, the reigning Pope and the architect.[24] Then a marble container was placed on top of the stone, which contained a bronze book with the achievements of their time, in particular Filarete's own designs and theories. 'On the outside page, that is the cover, will be carved the figures of Virtue and Vice in a form invented by me. Within it there will be certain other moralities as in another bronze book that I have begun' – an obvious reference to the *Libro architettonico*.[25]

In addition to the book, 'many lead and bronze effigies of worthy men' are laid in the chest – probably portrait medals of the founder and his family.[26] Finally, an inscription on the lid of the chest described its various contents. Around the chest were placed five glass vases containing water, wine, milk, oil, and honey, respectively. Finally, the terracotta container carried by the architect was placed on the chest:

[21] Lib. IV, *Magl.*, fol. 26v; ed. Spencer I, 47.
[22] Ibidem.
[23] Ibidem, fol. 26r; ed. Spencer I, 46.
[24] In Filarete's report on the foundation of the hospital of Sforzinda (the Ospedale Maggiore in Milan), the architect placed the foundation stone; he also mentioned a commemorative plaque with 'among other things the portrait of my lord laying the first stone […] together with my portrait and other noble memorials'. See below, note 28.
[25] Lib. IV, *Magl.*, fol. 25r; ed. Spencer I, 44.
[26] Ibidem.

'An earthen vase full of millet and wheat, or grain, if you prefer. Its cover bears the portraits of Clotho, Lachesis, and Atropos, above whom nothing is written but Life and Death'.[27] As all the objects had been deposited in the foundation 'with great solemnity and chants', the workers filled the foundation pit and dug the foundations for the city walls – a task miraculously completed on that very same day.[28]

The Christian Tradition

The custom to celebrate the start of the construction of important buildings or entire cities with a solemn ceremony is probably as old as humanity.[29] There is abundant evidence for ceremonies of this type

[27] Ibidem, fol. 25v.

[28] Cf. the description of the ceremonies for the laying of the foundation stone of the hospital of Sforzinda in Lib. XI, *Magl.*, fol. 83v; ed. Spencer I, 144–146: 'When the place where the hospital was to be built in the name of Christ and of the Virgin Annunciate was laid out, a solemn procession of the archbishop and all the clergy was ordered. [After the clergy followed] the duke Francesco Sforza with the most illustrious Bianca Maria, the count Galleazzo and madonna Ippolita, Filippo Maria and his other children, and many other nobles […] who came with the populace of Milan in procession to the designated place where the first stone was to be laid. When we arrived at the aforementioned place, I and one of the deputees laid the stone. It was ordered placed in the foundations. On it were written the century, the day, and the month, that is 4 April 1457 [on the following page, 12 April 1457 is given as the date when the foundation stone is laid]. Certain other ceremonies [were performed]. They are the following. First there were three glass vases, one full of water, another of wine, and another of oil. I also [put] in an earthen vase in which there was a leaden box containing several things. Among others [there were] certain carved medals of the heads of noteworthy men. These things were placed in the hollow made to receive them. Here certain offices were sung. [Then] my lord, the pontiff, and I laid this stone with all the aforementioned things. In order to create a notice for mankind, something like a sign or, better, a boundary stone was erected. It was made in the form of a column or pilaster. On it was written an epigram […] Among other things, the portrait of my lord laying the first stone was carved there, together with my portrait and other noble memorials.' (Cf. *Magl.*, fol. 1r; ed. Spencer I, 3, dedication, in a list of Filarete's works: '…and in the city of Milan the glorious shelter of the poor of God under Francesco Sforza, the fourth Duke of Milan, who laid the first stone of the foundation with his own hands'.) The description of the ceremonies for laying the foundation stone of the hospital of Sforzinda, which otherwise clearly follows the model of the Ospedale Maggiore, is probably a report accurately describing the actual laying of the foundation stone for the hospital in Milan. However, no actual record of the dedication ceremonies has been preserved and no attempts have yet been made to locate the building's foundation stone.

[29] Cf. Rykwert J., *The Idea of a Town: the Anthropology of Urban Form in Rome, Italy and the Ancient World* (Princeton: 1976); Franchetti Pardo V., "Miti e riti del costruire", in Franchetti Pardo V., *Città, architetture, maestranze tra tarda antichità*

during the Middle Ages, including the ritual circumambulation or inspection and benediction of the foundation area, and the deposition of one or several foundation stones and other precious objects. Particularly well-known is Abbot Suger's description of the foundation ceremonies of the new choir in Saint-Denis near Paris in 1140.[30] Filarete clearly fitted in this well-established tradition of medieval church foundation and consecration ceremonies.

Closer at hand to Filarete was the foundation of the church of the Certosa near Pavia on 27 August 1396.[31] Architect Domenico Bossio da Campione had prepared four stones for the ceremony 'cum certis litteris sculptis', which were blessed by the Bishop of Pavia. Then, Duke Gian Galeazzo Visconti descended into the excavation pit to lay the first stone. His two elder sons followed his example. Since the third son was just a toddler at the time, the last stone was placed by the ducal counsellor, Francesco Barbavara. The consecration ended with a mass and a grand banquet on the site. The Duke, on horseback, then inspected the church's foundations again, circumambulating the building site. A century later, two sculptured reliefs of the foundation ceremonies were ordered, one for the church's façade, the other inside the church near the tomb of patron Duke Gian Galeazzo Visconti

ed età moderna (Milan: 2001) 101–128. See also Rowald P., "Beiträge zur Geschichte der Grundsteinlegung", *Zeitschrift für Bauwesen* 54 (1904) 41–66, 271–88, 395–416.

[30] Suger of Saint-Denis, *De consecratione* 50–53; *Abbot Suger on the Abbey Church of St.-Denis and Its Art Treasures*, ed. E. Panofsky (Princeton: 1979), 100–103. Binding G., *Der früh- und hochmittelalterliche Bauherr als* sapiens architectus (Darmstadt: 1996) particularly 287–314; Binding G. – Linscheid-Burdich S., *Planen und Bauen im frühen und hohen Mittelalter nach den Schriftquellen bis 1250* (Darmstadt: 2002) 157–178, particularly 169–178; Benz K.J., "Ecclesiae pura simplicitas. Zu Geschichte und Deutung des Ritus der Grundsteinlegung im Hohen Mittelalter", *Archiv für mittelrheinische Kirchengeschichte* 32 (1980) 9–25; and finally Untermann M., "Primus lapis in fundamentum deponitur. Kunsthistorische Überlegungen zur Funktion der Grundsteinlegung im Mittelalter", *Cistercienser. Brandenburgische Zeitschrift rund um das cisterciensische Erbe* 6, 23 (2003) 5–18. Cf. also Staubach N., "Der Ritus der *impositio primarii lapidis* und die Grundsteinlegung von Neu-Sankt-Peter", in Satzinger G. – Schütze S. (eds.), *Sankt Peter in Rome 1506–2006. Beiträge der internationalen Tagung vom 22.–25. Februar 2006 in Bonn* (Munich: 2008) 29–40. Ritual inspection of a building or a city is of course also practiced outside the ecclesiastical sphere. For example, Francesco Sforza and Bianca Maria made a ceremonial circumambulation of the city walls of Milan, before Francesco was proclaimed as the new Duke of Milan on 22 March 1450. Welch E., *Art and Authority in Renaissance Milan* (New Haven: 1995) 45, and Colombo A., "L'ingresso di Francesco Sforza in Milano e l'inizio di un nuovo principato", *Archivio Storico Lombardo* 32,6 (1905) 54.

[31] Beltrami L., *Storia documentata della Certosa di Pavia*, 2 vols. (Milan: 1896) vol. I, 58–66.

[Fig. 4].[32] Both reliefs represented the founder while laying the foundation stone.[33] Filarete must have been familiar both with the reliefs and with descriptions of the ceremonies.[34]

As far as the building deposits are concerned, it is more difficult to find precedents Although offerings of precious stones (as in Saint-Denis), metals, coins or victuals were sometimes mentioned, they were not generally connected with the laying of the foundation stone. In any case, the abundance of offerings in the foundation deposit as described in Filarete is without precedent.

Foundation Deposit I: Victuals – Sympathetic Magic

For the containers with victuals, Filarete appears to be drawing on one or more older traditions, given the ample evidence of non-Christian practices to deposit vessels with coins, medals, or offerings of water, wine, oil, milk, grain, bread, fruit, meat, honey, and sometimes eggs.[35] Such offerings may have started as human or animal sacrifices, in

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[32] Norris A.S., *The Tomb of Gian Galeazzo Visconti at the Certosa di Pavia*, unpubl. Ph.D. (New York: 1977) 201–203 and figs. 72, 87.

[33] Cf. in particular the report from Ulm in 1377 and the relief of the laying of a foundation stone for Ulm Cathedral. See Veesenmeyer G. (ed.), *Fratris Felicis Fabri tractatus de civitate Ulmensis* (Tübingen: 1898) 37–38.

[34] Notable here is Filarete's report on the laying of the foundation stone for the hospital of Sforzinda (the Ospedale Maggiore in Milan) in Lib. XI, *Magl.*, fol. 83v, in which a commemorative relief is mentioned portraying the Duke while laying the foundation stone. Cf. above, note 28.

[35] Egypt: Abd El-Azim El-Adly S., *Das Gründungs- und Weiheritual des ägyptischen Tempels von der frühgeschichtlichen Zeit bis zum Ende des Neuen Reiches*, unpubl. Ph.D. (Tübingen: 1981) particularly 38–44 and 285–287; Weinstein J.M., *Foundation Deposits in Ancient Egypt*, Ph.D. University of Pennsylvania (Ann Arbor, Mich.: 1973) particularly 416–436. Mesopotamia: Ellis R.S., *Foundation Deposits in Ancient Mesopotamia* (New Haven: 1968). Prehistory and ancient history of Europe: Beilke-Voigt I., *Das 'Opfer' im archäologischen Befund. Studien zu den sog. Bauopfern, kultischen Niederlegungen und Bestattungen in ur- und frühgeschichtlichen Siedlungen Norddeutschlands und Dänemarks* (Rahden: 2007). Ancient Greece: Wells B., "Early Greek Building Sacrifices", in Hägg R. – Marinatos N. – Nordquist G.C. (eds.), *Early Greek Cult Practice* (Stockholm: 1988) 259–266; Müller Zeis R., *Griechische Bauopfer und Gründungsdepots*, unpubl. Ph.D. (Saarbrücken: 1994); Weikart S., *Griechische Bauopferrituale. Intention und Konvention von rituellen Handlungen im griechischen Bauwesen*, Ph.D. Univ. Würzburg (Berlin: 2002). Ancient Rome: Rykwert J., *The Idea of a Town*; Grandazzi A., *La fondation de Rome. Réflexions sur l'histoire* (Paris: 1992); Briquel D., "La leggenda di Romolo e il rituale di fondazione della città", in Carandini A. – Cappelli R. (eds.), *Roma. Romolo, Remo e la fondazione della città* (Milan: 2000) 39–44; Fraschetti A., *Romolo il fondatore* (Rome: 2002).

Fig. 4. Benedetto Briosco and workshop, *Duke Gian Galeazzo Visconti laying the first stone for the church of the Certosa di Pavia in 1396*, 1501–1506. Certosa di Pavia, relief on the right side of the main door (*Certosa di Pavia* [Parma: 2006] 18).

connection with the idea of consecrating a building or a city to a specific god or protective spirit.[36] Gradually though, blood sacrifices were substituted with offerings of coins, valuable objects and victuals, while personal offerings were being replaced by magical ideas of all sorts, ranging from simple auspices for future prosperity to genuine defensive or sympathetic magic. In the end, the sacrifice became a mere commemorative act for the start of construction. At the same time, the motive of fame became more prominent. Both the founder and the date of the foundation were commemorated for posterity in inscriptions and on deposited coins or medals. From this point on, the term 'building sacrifice' has given way to that of 'foundation deposit'.[37]

Filarete explained his extensive foundation deposit in two ways. First, they acted as a kind of sympathetic magic, guaranteeing the prosperity and continuance of the new city and the new world. Later, Filarete specified to the Duke that the glass and clay containers were to be interpreted as 'auguries' of the good qualities of the citizens of the new town – among them purity, moderation, strength, eagerness to work, justice, love and devotion to the Duke.[38]

This recalls a passage recounted by the poet Ludovico Ariosto (1474–1533) about an enchanted castle that vanished when the vessels deposited beneath its threshold were broken.[39] However, the poetic image in Ariosto is here to be taken quite seriously, as the entire book

[36] For Greek and Roman antiquity, see Schwenn F., *Die Menschenopfer bei den Griechen und Römern* (Berlin: 1966). Greece: Hughes D.D., *Human Sacrifice in Ancient Greece* (London: 1991); Bonnechère P., *Le sacrifice humain en Grèce ancienne* (Athens: 1994). Cf. also Girard R., *La violence et le sacré* (Paris: 1972); Hamerton-Kelly R.G., *Walter Burkert, René Girard, and Jonathan Z. Smith on Violent Origins: Ritual Killing and Cultural Formation* (Stanford: 1987); see also Cocchiara G., *Il paese di cuccagna* (Turin: 1956) 84–125.

[37] Sartoris P., "Über das Bauopfer", *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie* 30 (1898) 1–54, here 2. On the concept of the building sacrifice, see the excellent summary of the debate provided in Beilke-Voigt, *Das 'Opfer' im archäologischen Befund* 48–52.

[38] Lib. IV, *Magl.*, fols. 25v–26r. The Duke then asks the architect to write this explanation down and place the document in the foundation deposit along with the other objects. – We are using the term 'augury' here because it is the term used by Filarete in this context. It would be more precise to describe it as an auspice, or even more generally as an omen. Cf. Servius's commentary on Virgil's *Aeneid* I.398: 'The difference between an augury and an auspice is that the augury is both requested and announced by quite specific birds, whereas the auspice can be announced by any kind of bird and is not requested'.

[39] *Orlando Furioso* IV.38; Ludovico Ariosto, *Orlando Furioso*, ed. L. Caretti (Milan: 1954) 73. I am indebted for this reference to Hänselmann L., "Die vergrabenen und eingemauerten Tongeschirre des Mittelalters", *Westermanns Jahrbuch der illustrierten Deutschen Monatshefte* 41 (1876–77) 393–405, here 404.

is pervaded with anthropomorphism – i.e., the sympathetic interrelationship between the architecture and human beings, buildings and bodies. Having stated in his dedication that all good forms, proportions and measures in architecture are drawn from man, Filarete wrote in Book I:

> I will [then] show you [that] the building is truly a living man. You will see what it must eat in order to live, exactly as it is with man. It sickens and dies or sometimes is cured of its sickness by a good doctor [...] You can say that a building does not sicken and die like a man. I say to you that a building does just that, for it sickens when it does not eat, that is, when it is not maintained and begins to fall off little by little exactly as man does when he goes without food, and finally falls dead. This is exactly what the building does [...] It is enough to understand that the building lives and dies, is helped to die or to live – as the passing of time dictates, or as happens to man himself, or to the body of man.[40]

Every building, and even the city as a whole, has a living destiny that is quite comparable with that of an individual human being.

Foundation Deposit II: Portrait Medals

In addition to the victuals, Filarete deposited 'many lead and bronze effigies of worthy men' in the marble container on top of the foundation stone of Sforzinda.[41] To explain this, Filarete referred to his own experience with findings from antiquity, mentioning the desire of posthumous fame, well after the expected eventual decay or destruction of the city:

> The reason I put these things in this foundation is because, as every man knows, things that have a beginning must have an end. When the time comes, they will find these things, and know our names and remember us because of them, just as we remember when we find something noble in a ruin or in an excavation. We are happy and pleased to find a thing that represents antiquity and [gives] the name of him who had it done.[42]

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[40] Lib I, *passim*, here *Magl.*, fol. 6r; ed. Spencer I, 12–13; cf. for example Lib. II, *Magl.*, fol. 7v; cited above, note 12.

[41] The deposition of 'certain carved medals of the heads of noteworthy men' is also reported in the case of the laying of the foundation stone for the hospital of Sforzinda (the Ospedale Maggiore in Milan). See above, note 28.

[42] Lib. IV, *Magl.*, fol. 25v; ed. Spencer I, 45.

The ancient practice of offering coins or medals was revived under the influence of the humanists during the second half of the fourteenth century and had a great following in later periods.[43] Already in Greek and Roman antiquity, the usual offerings for buildings were often supplemented by or replaced with coins.[44] These were probably originally conceived as a votive gift or as a simple auspice for future prosperity, with the desire to secure remembrance and fame arising as a new motive later on – as shown by the examples in Priene and Gela, where the coins deposited in the foundations show the rulers portrayed as donors and benefactors. In the latter case, the coins were even placed in the foundations of the city wall, as in Filarete.[45]

This ancient practice was first revived in Padua in the second half of the fourteenth century, where Francesco da Carrara il Vecchio enclosed medals in small terracotta vessels in many of his buildings – particularly in the city's fortifications.[46] There is then a mass of evidence for this practice during the fifteenth century.[47] Sigismondo Malatesta, for example, the well-known *condottiere* and ruler of Rimini, had numerous portrait medals deposited in his castles, buildings,

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[43] For the Middle Ages, see Veit L., "Geheiligtes Geld – Münzmotive", in *Münzen in Brauch und Aberglauben. Schmuck und Dekor – Votiv und Amulett – Politische und Religiöse Selbstdarstellung*, exhib. cat. Germanisches Nationalmuseum Nürnberg (Mainz: 1982) 35–50.

[44] In addition to the references given in note 35, 36 and 43, see in particular Donderer M., "Münzen als Bauopfer in römischen Privathäusern", *Bonner Jahrbücher* 184 (1984) 177–187.

[45] Müller Zeiss, *Griechische Bauopfer und Gründungsdepots* 24, 44, 73; Orlandini P., "Tipologia e cronologia del materiale archeologico di Gela dalla nuova fondazione di Timoleonte all'età di Ierone II, Parte I", *Archeologia Classica* 9 (1957) 44–75, here 72–73.

[46] Weiss, *Un umanista veneziano* 70–71; Saccocci A., "Teche e medaglie murali carraresi (1355–1405)", in Verdi A. (ed.), *Le mura ritrovate: Fortificazioni di Padova in età comunale e carrarese* (Padua: 1988).

[47] On depositions of medals and coins in the fifteenth century in general: Weiss R., *Un umanista veneziano*, particularly 65–81; Clarke G., *Roman House – Renaissance Palaces: Inventing Antiquity in Fifteenth-Century Italy* (Cambridge: 2003) 23–28; Satzinger G., "Baumedaillen: Formen, Funktionen. Von den Anfängen bis zum Ende des 16. Jahrhunderts", in Satzinger G. (ed.), *Die Renaissance-Medaille in Italien und Deutschland* (Münster: 2004) 99–124; Schraven M., "Out of Sight, Yet Still in Place: On the Use of Italian Renaissance Portrait Medals as Building Deposits", *RES* 56 (2009) 182–193; Schraven M., "Foundation Rituals in Renaissance Italy: The Case of the Bentivoglio Tower in Bologna", in Michaels A. (ed.), *Ritual Dynamics and the Science of Ritual,* 5 vols. (Wiesbaden: 2010) vol. V, 339–357; see also Zimmer J., "Die Neuburger Medaille von 1607. Materialien zum Verständnis eines unscheinbaren Kunstwerkes", *Zeitschrift des Historischen Vereins für Schwaben* 85 (1992) 49–100, particularly 54–57.

and in the church of San Francesco in Rimini.[48] At the same period, in 1457, the nephew of Pope Callixtus III had papal ducats placed in the foundations of the papal fort in Viterbo.[49] During the building of the Palazzo di San Marco (Palazzo Venezia) in 1455, as well as during extensions carried out in 1465 and 1470, Cardinal Pietro Barbo, later Pope Paul II, had gold and silver portrait medals placed in the foundations and walls in large quantities, as numerous twentieth-century finds confirm. The medals were carefully coated in wax in order to protect them against weathering and were placed in vessels to make it easier to find them.[50]

There are also several known cases from the second half of the fifteenth century of this custom being used in new private buildings. In Florence, Filippo Strozzi deposited numerous medals in the foundations when the building of his ambitious palace commenced on 6 August 1489 – undoubtedly including ones featuring his portrait, with his name and on the reverse his coat of arms, which may have been specially produced for the occasion.[51]

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48 Hill G.F., *A Corpus of Italian Medals of the Renaissance before Cellini* (London: 1930) nos. 163–164, 174–177, 183–186 (all by Matteo de' Pasti). Cf. Pasini P.G., "Note su Matteo de' Pasti e la medaglistica malatestiana", in *La medaglia d'arte. Atti del primo convegno internazionale di studio 1970* (Udine: 1973) 41–76, here 52; Weiss, *Un umanista veneziano* 71–72; Scher S.K., "Italy, Fifteenth Century", in Scher S.K. (ed.), *The Currency of Fame: Portrait Medals in the Renaissance* (London: 1994) 39–146, here 64–76; Satzinger, "Baumedaillen" 99–101; Schraven M., "Out of Sight, Yet Still in Place" 183–189.

49 Niccolò della Tuccia, *Galiana di Viterbo: cronaca novella e poesia*, ed. I. Ciampi (Rome: 1863) 252; cf. Weiss, *Un umanista veneziano* 73.

50 Hill G.F., *Corpus of Italian Medals* nos. 737–738, 759, 780, 783. Cf. Hill G.F., "The Medals of Paul II", *Numismatic Chronicle*, ser. 4, 10 (1910) 340–369; Weiss, *Un umanista veneziano*, particularly 49–63; De Caro Balbi S., "Di alcune medaglie di Paolo II rinvenute nelle mura del Palazzo di Venezia in Rome", *Medaglia* 2 (1973) 24–34; Clarke, *Roman House – Renaissance Palaces* 25–26; Satzinger, "Baumedaillen" 101–104; Schraven, "Out of Sight, Yet Still in Place" 189–191.

51 Hill, *Corpus of Italian Medals* no. 1018. Two eye-witnesses (Luca Landucci and Tibaldo de' Rossi) provide vivid reports of the proceedings, which are reprinted in Markschies A., *Gebaute Pracht. Der Palazzo Strozzi in Florenz (1489–1534)* (Freiburg: 2000) 21 and 43–45. Cf. Goldthwaite R., "The Building of the Strozzi Palace" 113–114; Scher, "Italy, Fifteenth Century" 134–135. Further examples: Jacopo di Paolo Gottifredi del Zoccolo, building on the Piazza Pasquino in Rome, 1467 (Hill, *Corpus of Italian Medals* nos. 761–762; Weiss, *Un umanista veneziano* 63 and 77); Cardinal Raffaele Riario, Cancelleria, after 1483 (Hill, *Corpus of Italian Medals* no. 804; Schiavo A., *Il palazzo della Cancelleria* [Rome: 1964] 78 and Fig. 4); Giuliano Gondi, Palazzo Gondi, 1490 (Tribaldo de' Rossi, 'Ricordanze', in *Delizie degli Eruditi Toscani*, ed. I. di San Luigi, vol. 23 [Florence: 1986] 249 and 253–254).

In all cases mentioned so far, the portrait medals were not connected with the actual start of construction and the laying of the foundation stone. Instead, they were deposited in large numbers at various times and at various places in the foundations or rising masonry. The aspect of the start of construction – i.e., the ceremonial laying of the foundation stone – still appears to have played a subordinate role, while the posthumous fame of the donor is emphasized.

In addition, however, the traditional auspices for future prosperity and sympathetic magic continued to play a role. Georg Satzinger rightly asked whether one can really speak of an emulation of antiquity at all here and whether the 'excessive practice of stocking new buildings with medals, like a cake with raisins',[52] might be regarded as a procedure exclusively implying emulation of an ancient conception of fame. 'The deliberate scattering of the pieces and their profuse distribution within the substance of the walls also appear to suggest a magical or superstitious impulse that recalls the extremely durable and varied tradition of the building offering'.[53] Satzinger therefore referred to a 'humanist sublimation of traditional forms of magical and superstitious building offering practices'.[54] The reversion to a (supposedly) ancient practice was intended to conjure strength and persistence in the masonry, while ensuring the posthumous fame of the donor.

As is so often the case, Filarete stood with one foot in the past and one in the future. The aspect of sympathetic magic and the fact that there is no documentation of individual buildings or of the city (or its ground plan) on the medals in Filarete points to the past, even though the scale of the ceremony and its explanation in Filarete go beyond anything previously known. By contrast, combining the deposition of the coins temporally and spatially with the laying of the first stone, he points clearly towards the future. Subsequently, however, with the increasing institutionalization of the act of laying a foundation stone and the simultaneous creation of special building medals and their deposition only in or at the foundation stone, the magical component was largely suppressed.

A building medal of Pope Sixtus IV combined for the first time a portrait of the patron, an accurate depiction of the building and

[52] Satzinger, "Baumedaillen" 103. The aspect of the revival of ancient practice is overemphasized by Clarke G., *Roman House – Renaissance Palaces* 23–28.
[53] Satzinger, "Baumedaillen" 103.
[54] Ibidem.

explanatory inscriptions. The medal was cast for the foundation ceremony of Ponte Sisto in Rome in 1473 and had been deposited personally by the Pope, along with a square foundation stone in presence of cardinals and bishops.[55] This is also the first clear evidence of the motif of emulating antiquity. In addition to the formal borrowing from ancient types of coin (all individuals named were avid collectors of ancient coins at the same time), there are also clear inscriptions referring to the construction of a new bridge over the Tiber, the first since antiquity.[56]

From the late fifteenth century, medals were usually preserved in a single container. This not only gave them the highest probability of surviving, ensuring that historical information would be passed on to later epochs.[57] The purpose of the medal was often, although by no means always, to convey to posterity both the identity of the patron and image of the building, as it would necessarily be in ruins if the foundation-stone were to be discovered – in the same way that Roman coins were used as sources for the reconstruction of ancient buildings in the early modern period.[58]

These two motivations – the desire to emulate antiquity and to ensure one's own posthumous fame – are also found in other written sources of the period. Bartolomeo Platina, for example, stated in

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[55] Stefano Infessura, *Diario della citta di Rome*, ed. O. Tommasini (Rome: 1890) 76; cf. Bartolomeo Platina, *Liber de vita Christi ac omnium pontificum…*, ed. G. Gaida, *Rerum italicarum scriptores, Raccolta degli storici italiani dal cinquecento al millecinquecento* (Città di Castello: 1913), vol. 3,1 208–209. Hill, *Corpus of Italian Medals*, no. 806; Pollard J.G., *Medaglie Italiane del Rinascimento nel Museo Nazionale del Bargello* (Florence: 1985) no. 174. Cf. Weiss R., *Un umanista veneziano* 77–8; Weiss R., *The Medals of Pope Sixtus IV (1471–1484)* (Rome: 1961) 18–19; Franchetti Pardo, "Miti e riti del costruire" 112–113 (366–367); Satzinger, "Baumedaillen" 106; and especially the contribution of Schraven to this volume.

[56] Schraven in this volume.

[57] The best-known example is the laying of the foundation stone for the new St. Peter's Basilica by Pope Julius II on 18 April 1506. The otherwise contradictory reports of the competing masters of ceremonies, Johannes Burckardus and Paris de Grassis, agree that Julius II had the foundation stone and a marble plaque immured in the foundations along with a container full of medals bearing his portrait and a view of the future building on the reverse. See Staubach N., "Der Ritus der *impositio primarii lapidis*" 29–40. Cf., for example, the foundation of the Bentivoglio Tower in Bologna circa 1490 with the deposition of four containers full of medals showing the portrait of Giovanni Bentivoglio but no image of the building. See Schraven M., "Foundation Rituals and Material Culture".

[58] See, for example, Küthmann H. – Overbeck B. – Steinhilber D. – Weber I. (eds.), *Bauten Roms auf Münzen und Medaillen. Antike, Mittelalter, Neuzeit*, exhib. cat., Staatliche Münzsammlung München (Munich: 1973) 7–88.

his biography of Paul II in 1479 that the placement of medals bearing the pope's portrait in the foundation of his palace was 'in the custom of the ancients' – although this was intended as criticism rather than praise, as Platina referred to Paul as 'imitating the ancients in this, rather than Peter, Anacletus or Linus' – who, as the first popes, should have been Paul's models.[59] A decade earlier, in 1468, Cardinal Ammannati Piccolomini, had accused the pope that his depositing of medals with his own portrait in the foundations and walls of his buildings was motivated 'by a great desire for eternity [...] so that when, after a thousand years, (the building) falls down with age, the monuments of Paul's name (i.e., the medals) would leap out'.[60]

Both motives – the desire for fame and emulation of antiquity – are also clearly expressed in Filarete. The quotation from the ceremony for the laying of the foundation stone mentioned above should be related to another passage, in which Filarete, in the context of the prince's education in the arts, discussed the casting of metal in general and of medals and coins in particular:

> The ancients were so perfect at this [kind of engraving] that it was a marvellous thing, for in one day they engraved in steel heads of men that seemed completely alive. To prove that this is so, every day we recognize by means of this skill Caesar, Octavian, Vespasian, Tiberius, Hadrian, Trajan, Domitian, Nero, Antoninus Pius, and all the others. What a noble thing it is, for through it we know those who died a thousand or two thousand or more years ago. We could not have such an accurate record of them through writing. We could know about their deeds but not the appearance of their faces. It cannot be shown as well by writing as by this.[61]

[59] Platina, *Liber de vita Christi* 388. Cf. Hill, "The Medals of Paul II" 353; Clarke, *Roman House – Renaissance Palaces* 27–28.

[60] Jacopo Ammannati Piccolomini, *Lettere (1444–1479)*, ed. P. Cherubini, 3 vols. (Rome: 1997), vol. II no. 364, 1202–1205, cited 1203, and Miglio M., "Vidi thiaram Pauli papae secundi", in Miglio M. (ed.), *Storiografia pontificia del Quattrocento* (Bologna: 1975) 150–152, cited 151. Cf. Clarke, *Roman House – Renaissance Palaces* 28; Hill, "The Medals of Paul II" 353–354; Weiss, *Un umanista veneziano* 30 and 74–75. Cf. Timoteo Maffei's 1453 letter to Sigismondo Malatesta about Matteo de' Pasti's medals, in which Maffei characterized the placing of medals in foundations as acts of long-term commemoration; cited in Weiss, *Un umanista veneziano* 71. Cf. Hill, "The Medals of Paul II" 353, n. 4; Pasini, "Note su Matteo de' Pasti" 45; Pasini, "Matteo de' Pasti: Problems of Style and Chronology", in Pollard J.G. (ed.), *Italian Medals. Studies in the History of Art* 21 (Washington: 1987) 143–159, here 157–158.

[61] Lib. XXIV, *Magl.*, fol. 185r; ed. Spencer I, 316.

Coins and medals convey the appearance of the ancient faces in an authentic and vivid form that surpasses written descriptions. However, Filarete's ambitions differed clearly from both his contemporaries and those he attributed to the ancient emperors. The major difference lies in the outstanding role Filarete assigned to the architect in his stories, as both the guarantor of commemoration and its primary subject. What Platina and Ammannati criticized in Paul II is for Filarete an extremely positive and desirable impulse. Medals are laid in the foundations in order to ensure posthumous fame. But besides the *memoria* of the founder or founders, also that of the architect and his work must be conveyed to posterity.

Remarkably, in all cited foundation ceremonies of the fifteenth century, the architect was never mentioned. The name of the architect of an important project as the Ponte Sisto has not been passed down to us and as a result, his identity is still a matter of controversy. Even in the detailed reports of the foundation ceremony of new St. Peter's on 18 April 1506, the architect (no less a figure than Donato Bramante) is not mentioned once in the accounts of the Masters of Ceremonies.[62]

In Filarete's book, by contrast, the architect takes centre stage in the ceremonies, becoming its principal object. Filarete is here anticipating, in literary form, practices of the sixteenth century, when foundation ceremonies for the first time focused on the architect. In 1574, Baccio Bandinelli deposited ten portrait medals of himself in the foundation for the choir of Florence Cathedral of which he was the architect, along with medals of his patron Cosimo de' Medici.[63] Four years later, Francesco da Sangallo, commissioned to build a *campanile* for the church of Santa Croce in Florence, designed the first medal that explicitly identified the artist (sculptor, medallist and architect) as *auctor* of the project.[64] When the foundations of Santa Croce were partially removed in the mid-nineteenth century, several commemorative medals were found in the tower's foundation wall (the tower was never built for a lack of funds). Sangallo combined an image of the planned tower on the reverse of the medal, with the signature 'faciebat' or 'opus', with his own self-portrait on the obverse. This authorship

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[62] See above, note 56.
[63] Satzinger, "Baumedaillen" 121.
[64] Ibidem, 121–122 and Fig. 40.

signature was a radical break, as the deposition of medals until then had been the privilege of the patron or donor.

Foundation Deposits III: Golden Books

It remains an open question whether Filarete counted his own medal, two copies of which have been preserved [Figs. 5 and 6], among the 'many lead and bronze effigies of worthy men'.[65] But he did pass on to posterity his *Libro architettonico*.[66] Filarete praised the ability of coins to convey the appearance of individuals to posterity more accurately than the most precise literary description. But who would be interested in such faces, if written records about their achievements and building projects had not been passed down as well?

> I do not believe that you have ever seen a building with walls so large or so thick that it did not weaken in a short time if it was not maintained. To prove that this is true, look at Rome where some [buildings] can be seen that reasonably ought to have been eternal. Because they did not receive food, that is, were not maintained, they are in ruins. If you were to see the baths of Diocletian, you would marvel how a building of such mastery could ever have come to this state. As far as we can now understand, it contained more than three hundred columns… […] Where is the palace of Nero […]? Where are the palace and the theatre of Octavian…? […] As I have said above about valiant men and great lords who have died, so there are great buildings known that have declined. As the fame of great men [lives on], so is there almost the same effect for buildings in their own way. The one aids the other in transmitting their living reputations to us. Through writings we know of many worthy men of great fame because of the great things they have done, that is, the great buildings erected by these men. The fame of the buildings

[65] On Filarete's self-portrait medal, see for example Warnke M., "Filaretes Selbstbildnis. Das geschenkte Selbst", in Winner M. (ed.), *Der Künstler über sich in seinem Werk* (Weinheim: 1992) 101–112; and Woods-Marsden J., *Renaissance Self-Portraiture: The Visual Construction of Identity and the Social Status of the Artist* (New Haven: 1998) 79–84. Cf. below, note 73.

[66] Filarete's *Libro architettonico* originally bore a double portrait of Filarete on its title page. See *Codex Trivulzianus* 863, lost in Milan around 1945. The Archivo dell'Ospedale Maggiore, Milan, holds a copy of the first pages of *Trivulziano*, up to fol. 34r. Cf. Lazzaroni M. and Muñoz M., *Filarete* 238–239; von Oettingen W., *Antonio Averlino Filarete's Tractat über die Baukunst, nebst seinen Büchern von der Zeichenkunst und den Bauten der Medici* (Wien: 1896) 13–16. The illustration is not found in the *Codex Magliabechianus*. Since the *Codex Trivulzianus* is not dedicated to Piero de' Medici, like the copy preserved in Florence, but instead to Francesco Sforza, it is the older version and thus closer to the original.

Fig. 5. Filarete, *Self-portrait medal*, obverse, c. 1460, bronze. London, Victoria & Albert Museum, 194–1866.

Fig. 6. Filarete, *Self-portrait medal*, reverse, c. 1460, bronze. London, Victoria & Albert Museum, 194–1866.

> is such, because of its magnitude and beauty, that the fame of the man endures for the great and beautiful things he has done. The same applies to buildings [i.e. the building is remembered because of the man]. Even though they are in ruins and no trace remains of them, we still know about them for the above reasons. Many are found that were recorded by authors, as [for example] the labyrinth of Porsenna, which, according to Varro, was located in Tuscany.[67]

Composing a text and ensuring its preservation, the architect thus ensured both his fame and the legacy of his architecture, its theory and practice. Depositing his *Libro architettonico*, Filarete ensured thus no less than the eternal tradition of ideal architecture and the eternal fame of its founder and representative. The architect thus ensured its eternal regeneration – an everlasting 'renaissance', as it were.

Incidentally, the text itself contains a model for the bronze book deposited with the foundation stone, and thus for Filarete's *Libro architettonico*, explaining the meaning of this literary foundation deposit. Filarete recounted that, once Sforzinda had been more or less completed, its fortified port was constructed. During the excavations of the foundations of Plusiapolis ('rich city'), a treasure chest was discovered, containing a 'Golden Book' written in Greek [Fig. 7].[68] The author of this *Codex Aureus* is the 'ancient' king Zogaglia, whose city Galisforma (the two names are an anagrammatic form of Galeazzo Maria Sforza) once occupied the site. Telling the story of the king, additional anagrams reveal it to be the history of the rise of the Sforza family.[69] The book thus confirmed and ennobled Sforza rule by providing it with a glorious and classical past. But the Golden Book also mentioned Filarete himself, who appeared as 'Onitoan Nolivera […] per patria notirenflo' (an anagram of his name and place of birth, 'Antonio Averlino, Florentino'), court architect to the ancient King Zogaglia and creator of all the ancient buildings and complexes described in the Golden Book.[70] Following the descriptions of the Golden Book, the buildings of the Sforza port were built on exactly the same spot

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[67] Lib. I, *Magl.*, fols. 6r–7r; ed. Spencer I, 12–15.

[68] Lib. XIV, *Magl.*, fol. 101r.

[69] The stories of his grandfather and father consist of the deeds of Iacopo Mucio (Locuimo) Attendolo and Francesco Sforza's path to power in Milan, from the defeat of Braccio (Ciobra) da Montone to his marriage to Bianca Maria, daughter of Filippo Maria (Polifiamma) Visconti.

[70] Lib. XIV, *Magl.*, fol. 107v and frequently in the pages that follow.

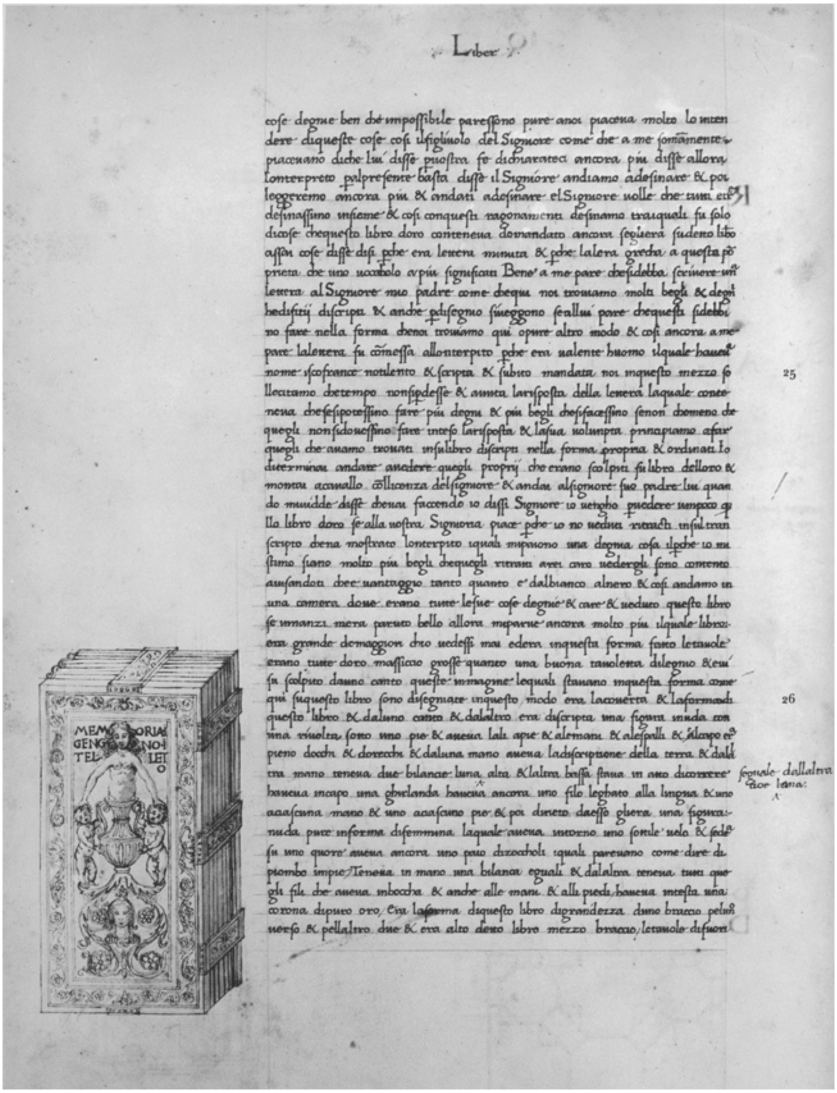

Fig. 7. Filarete, *Codex Aureus*, c. 1460. Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Codex Magliabechianus II.I.140, fol. 108v (© Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale).

as those of the submerged port city.[71] Some of the descriptions, however, matched buildings that had already been built in the city of Sforzinda, built in the interior of the country. In fact, Filarete attributed to ancient King Zogaglia the construction of a second city, located on the very site of Sforzinda.[72] For Filarete, antiquity is not only 'reborn' in the mind and spirit, but also re-erected *de facto*. And in case Sforzinda would one day cease to exist, Filarete, by depositing the *Libro architettonico*, has ensured the persistence of true architecture, just like the ancient king had done. The present – meaning the architecture and accomplishments of Filarete – holds thus the same value and importance for future generations, as the Golden Age of antiquity is said to hold for the present. If 'antiquity' were to be lost once again, Filarete is ensuring the continuation of its tradition – new Renaissances, so to speak.

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[71] The reading from the *Codex Aureus* runs from Lib. XIV, *Magl.*, fol. 103r to Lib. XXI, *Magl.*, fol. 173r.

[72] Lib. XIV, *Magl.*, fol. 104r. The tale of the finding of a 'golden book' draws on an ancient motif. Cf. Speyer W., *Bücherfunde in der Glaubenswerbung der Antike. Mit einem Ausblick auf Mittelalter und Neuzeit* (Göttingen: 1970). In addition, Filarete may have used the 'Book of the Treasures of Alexander' (*Kitab dahirat Aliskandar*, thought to have been written in the eleventh century), which survives only in its Arabic version, as a model. For details, see Hub B., "Filarete and the East: The Renaissance of a *prisca architectura*", *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 70,1 (2011) 18–37. Significantly, the next parallel to Filarete's foundation deposit that I have been able to identify is also from a distant time and place – from Dur-Sharrukin (now Khorsabad in northern Iraq), the capital erected *c.* 700 BC by the Assyrian King Sargon II (after his death, the capital was moved 20 km south to Nineveh). The city's foundation stone was found during excavations in the mid-nineteenth century, with a chest with an alabaster lid lying on it (40 cm long, 20 cm wide, 30 cm high), containing seven tablets of gold, antimony, silver, copper, lead, marble and alabaster inscribed on both side, as well as numerous clay vessels with additional foundation documents. The tablets and documents recount the king's merits and his founding of the city. In these, Sargon II tells of his deeds of war and peace, and then describes how he planned the building and chose the site; how the gods showed their favour and approved the building of the city. He placed the foundation stone for the city and palace in the foundations in the month of July. The city wall formed a square, the length of which corresponded to the numerical value of the letters in his name; the corners were directed towards the cardinal points, and there were eight gates directed towards the winds and named after the corresponding gods. A future king should renew what had fallen into ruin, write his own tablets and place them alongside these. By contrast, anyone who altered the work would be cursed. See Fuchs A., *Die Inschriften Sargons II. aus Khorsabad* (Göttingen: 1994) particularly 29–59 and 289–302; cf. Rowald P., "Beiträge zur Geschichte der Grundsteinlegung" 57–58. It remains an open question, of course, whether the similarity involves a dependent and communicated relationship, or whether it is merely the result of a ubiquitous phenomenon of which only a few scattered traces have survived.

Auguries

Once the foundation stone has been laid, unexpected things started to happen. Various animals appeared, whose presence and behaviour provided good 'auguries' for the city and its inhabitants. When starting digging the foundations of the moat, the workmen came upon a colony of ants carrying oat grains much larger than the ants themselves to a nearby hole in the ground.[73] The Duke commanded that no harm should be done to them, and repositioned the moat slightly, in order to include the ants in the city (within the new cosmos) and protect them.

Well before this, a swarm of bees had descended on a laurel tree at the very centre of the complex, making its nest there.[74] This motif is of course an obvious reference to Virgil's tale of the arrival of Aeneas in Latium: a swarm of bees settled on a laurel tree, thus announcing the start of a new Golden Age under a new dynasty of rulers – an image that Pope Urban VIII Barberini would use for his emblems.[75] However, the bees also referred to the future inhabitants of the city. Skilfully and tirelessly collecting honey, building artful (geometrical!) honeycombs, practicing the division of labour and subjected to the rule of a king or queen, bees stand for the ability to make provisions for the future and to build states, for skilfulness and wisdom, discipline, obedience and loyalty to the prince. Also living in large communities, ants can bear burdens larger than themselves and they lay up reserves for lean times, and traditionally stand for intelligent foresight, cooperation, hierarchical thinking and considerate behaviour.[76]

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[73] Lib. V, *Magl.*, fol. 31r; ed. Spencer I, 54.

[74] Ibidem, fol. 27r; ed. Spencer I, 48. The symbol of the bees is one of Filarete's favourite motifs. It appears in numerous places in the *Libro architettonico*, not only in written form (Lib. IX, *Magl.*, fol. 68v; XVII, 136r; XVIII, 149r; XIX, 152r–153r) but also in the illustrations (Lib. XVIII, fol. 143r; and on the *Libro*'s original title page, cf. note 65, above), at several points on the bronze door of St. Peter's, as well as in several of his small sculptures and not least in his portrait medal [Figs. 5 and 6]. On the latter, cf. note 64, above. The present author is preparing a separate study on "Filarete and the Bees". In the meantime, see in particular Pfisterer U., "Ingenium und Invention bei Filarete", in Klein B. – Wolter von dem Knesebeck H. (eds.), *Nobilis Arte Manus. Festschrift zum 70. Geburtstag von Antje Middeldorf Kosegarten* (Dresden: 2002) 265–289.

[75] Virgil, *Aeneid* VII.62.

[76] Praises for ants and bees are such widespread topoi that we need hardly search for a source. See, for example, the entries in the *Lexikon für Antike und Christentum*. With regard to the metaphoric connotations of bees, see in particular Peil D.,

Ants and bees are thus ideal auguries for the virtue and prosperity of the future citizens of the newly founded city and of the new society established by the architect. Later on, Filarete interpreted the auguries of the bees and ants in precisely this sense for the Duke.[77] Tellingly, a wise man visiting the site praised the Duke for protecting the ants. For without them, there would have been no industrious workers or fruitful soil in his city, but unrest and turmoil and the city would not have lasted very long.

Of special interest here, however, is the appearance of the serpent and the eagle. While excavating a pit for the foundation stone, one of the workmen hit on a hole. Lifting a large piece of soil, he discovered a cave with a serpent, which escaped towards the centre of the future city.[78] When a worker tried to kill it with a stick, the serpent attacked him swiftly, winding itself around his neck and strangling him to death. Abandoning the dead body, the snake continued its journey to the centre of the site. Recognizing the good omen, the Duke commanded that no harm should be done, for – as it is explained later – the serpent had not hurt anyone within the city boundaries (the boundaries of the new cosmos).[79] Continuing its path, the serpent crawled past an oak tree to a laurel tree, located at the precise centre of the future city, and settled here, just when the swarm of bees mentioned earlier settled there as well.

Untersuchungen zur Staats- und Herrschaftsmetaphorik in literarischen Zeugnissen von der Antike bis zur Gegenwart (Munich: 1983) 166–301. Filarete, as Spencer has already pointed out (ed., Filarete, *Treatise on Architecture*, vol. I, 78–79, note 13), may have been inspired by the *Fior di Virtù*, written before 1300 and widely known in the fifteenth century, first printed (with illustrations) in Florence in 1487. The work includes not only ants (Chapter XIX, prudence) and bees (chapter XXI, justice), but also the eagle that subsequently appears here (Chapter XV, liberality or generosity), serpent (or basilisks, Chapter XVIII) and also falcon (Chapters XXIX and XXXVI, magnanimity and pride). See *The Florentine Fior di Virtù of 1491*, ed. N. Fersin (Philadelphia: 1953). Cf. Frati C., "Ricerche sul Fiore di Virtù", *Studj di filologia romanza* 6 (1893) 247–447; see also Lehmann-Brockhaus O., "Tierdarstellungen der Fiori di Virtù", *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz* 6 (1940) 1–32. There was a copy in the Sforza library in Filarete's time. See Pellegrin E., *La bibliothèque des Visconti et des Sforza ducs de Milan, au XV^e^ siecle* (Paris: 1955) no. A 860. The same copy also appears to have been used by Leonardo for his bestiary shortly afterwards. See *The Notebooks of Leonardo da Vinci*, ed. J.P. Richter (New York: 1970) vol. 2, 316–334; cf. Cohen S., *Animals as Disguised Symbols in Renaissance Art* (Leiden: 2008) 25–26.

77 Lib. VI, *Magl.*, fol. 45v; ed. Spencer I, 79.

78 Lib. V, *Magl.*, fols. 26v–27r; ed. Spencer I, 48.

79 Ibidem, fol. 27r.

Once the bishop and the Duke had descended into the foundations to lay the first stone, an eagle appeared, circling over the building site.[80] The next morning, the eagle rose out of the oak tree, where it had spent the night. Also the Duke had set up his camp under the oak tree.[81] At noon, the eagle returned to the oak tree with its prey.[82] Again, the Duke commanded that the eagle should not be disturbed. The Duke and his architect then entered the tent for a meal – in a clear parallel with the eagle.

That evening, falcons or hawks were seen chasing other birds above the future city.[83] The eagle killed the largest of them, which dropped dead in front of the Duke's feet. The next day, two days after the laying of the foundation stone, the eagle again chased off other birds of prey and crows, attacking one another.[84] Only a (peaceful) flock of starlings that appeared on the tenth day was tolerated and welcomed by the eagle.[85] The starlings spent the night in the trees, and the next morning, they all gathered on the oak beside the eagle, and flew up into the air simultaneously while singing, 'as if showing reverence to him'.[86] As recounted in Book VI, similar auguries occurred during the foundation of the castle of Sforzinda.[87] On the way to the square where the foundation stone was to be laid, various birds were seen while chased by a falcon. The birds fled to the site of the castle and stayed there even while the workers started excavating the foundations. The Duke commanded that the birds should be left in peace, assuming the role of the eagle himself.

Once the walls and castle had been built, the architect explained the allegorical events to the Duke, while putting some of them in the mouth of an unknown sage, who – attracted by the fame of the new city – visited the site a few days after the foundation stone was laid.[88] Eternally rejuvenating itself by shedding its skin, the serpent heralded a long life for the new city. Since it killed its attacker, the city would be safe from enemies. The serpent and the laurel tree together meant

[80] Ibidem.
[81] Ibidem, fol. 27v.
[82] Ibidem, fol. 28r.
[83] Ibidem, fol. 29v.
[84] Ibidem, fol. 29v.
[85] Ibidem, fols. 30r–30v.
[86] Lib. IV, *Magl.*, fol. 29v; ed. Spencer I, 52.
[87] Lib. VI, *Magl.*, fol. 41r; ed. Spencer I, 71.
[88] Ibidem, fols. 45r–45v.

that the city would be led with intelligence and wisdom. The evergreen laurel also promised eternal well-being for the city. The eagle – not tolerating any birds near its nest, always leaving part of its prey for others and protecting smaller animals – 'is a sign that this country will have a magnanimous lord'. He will 'defeat all other rulers who wage war against him' (the falcons) and also 'any people who rebel against him' (the crows). By contrast, he will 'protect people who obey him and who show him the honour he is due' (the starlings). His court will 'always remain in the city, and the city will be fruitful and will produce everything needed for life' (the nest in the oak tree).

The eagle as symbol of the just ruler was of course well-known to all, including the Duke. Besides being an ancient attribute of the highest sovereignty, transferred from Zeus as the father of the gods to secular rulers,[89] the eagle was also the heraldic animal of the Sforza family. Indeed, the auguries at the laying of the foundation stone clearly followed the symbolism of Francesco Sforza's coat of arms, which he had taken over from his predecessors, the Visconti [Fig. 8]. It shows two fields with an eagle and two fields with a dragon (serpent) devouring or spitting out a man; from the crown at the top emerge two branches, one of them a laurel (oak?), the other an olive branch (or palm?).[90]

In his *Libro*, Filarete supported the allegory of sovereignty with the symbol of the tree. Perched in the tree, the eagle is both a symbol of sovereignty and of the renewal of the world by the ruler. Across all time periods, the tree of life was repeatedly represented with birds, particularly with the eagle and the phoenix, – symbols of renewal *par excellence*. Both birds were believed to overcome age by entering into a new cycle of life.[91] Praised for its extremely sharp eyesight, the eagle was believed to be the only creature capable of looking directly into the sun. Flying higher than all other birds, the sun burns its feathers and eyes. Plunging himself then three times into the sea, the bird comes to life again, flies up into the air and returns to (eternal) youth. The

[89] The eagle as the symbol of the powerful and just ruler, analogous with the father of the gods, whose standard attribute and constant companion it is, is such a familiar topic that detailed documentation is not necessary here. See, for example, Toynbee J.M.C., *Animals in Roman Life and Art* (London: 1973) 240–243.

[90] Further illustrations are provided, for example, in Lopez G. (ed.), *Gli Sforza a Milano* (Milan: 1978), and Maspoli C. (ed.), *Stemmario Trivulziano* (Milan: 2000). The depictions of the branches on the crown differ.

[91] See, for example, Wensinck A.J., *Tree and Bird as Cosmological Symbols in Western Asia* (Amsterdam: 1921).

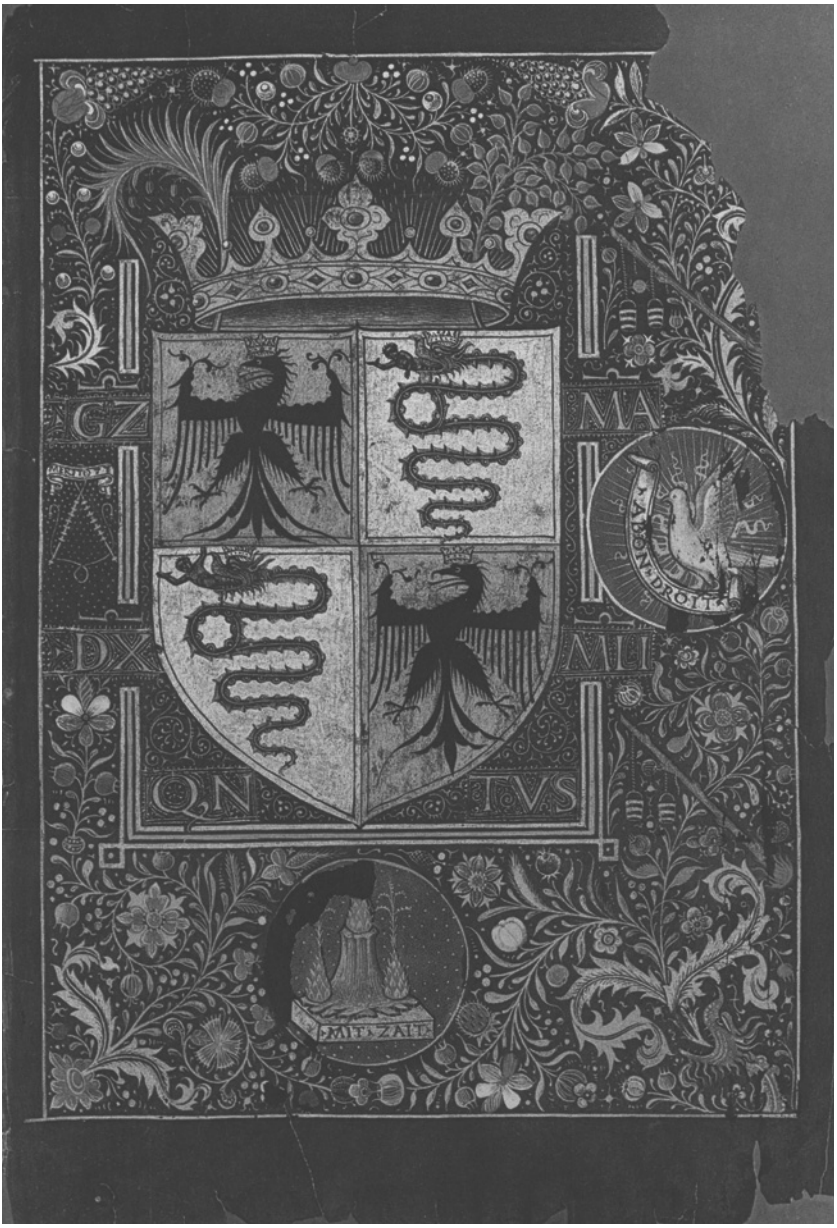

Fig. 8. Anonymous, *Miniature page with coat of arms and emblems of Galeazzo Maria Sforza*, c. 1470. Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, ms. 1856 (Lopez G. [ed.], *Gli Sforza a Milano* [Milan: 1978] 56, fig. 49).

ability to loose and regain its feathers is taken as a symbol of immortality, in the same way that the serpent acquired it through changing its skin. Since the Roman Empire, if not earlier, the eagle and phoenix had been symbols of sovereignty, implying the renewal of the world by the ruler. Therefore, Renaissance medals, *imprese* and emblems often represented an eagle or phoenix in a large tree – a palm, laurel, or (as in this case) an oak.[92]

Cosmogony

The significance of the symbolism is still by no means exhausted, as the story of the serpent and the eagle conceals at least four ancient cosmogonic motifs. One of them is human sacrifice – the killing of a man by the serpent at the very start of the founding of a city (the world). The story of a human sacrifice at the beginning of time, or at the commencement of a new era (repeating the sacrifice at the mythic origin of the world in historical time), such as the founding of a city, is in fact a widespread topos.[93] The basic motif is that new life can only be created through the sacrifice of old life, which then reappears in a fuller form at a new level of existence. A proxy death of a human thus allows for a fresh start. Consequently, a dam, bridge, house or city can only last if there is an annihilated life underneath it.[94] Filarete transposed this motif to a universal, cosmological level. If his new world was to last, it must have gone through a sacrifice that will give the new order stability and persistence.

The serpent stands for wisdom and intelligence, renewal and eternal youth. As long as it is protected and is willing to dwell in the city, it is a good omen for the city – and Filarete interpreted it explicitly in this sense.[95] But, of all places, the serpent chooses a tree located at the

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[92] Ladner G.B., "Pflanzensymbolik und der Renaissance-Begriff", in Buck A. (ed.), *Zu Begriff und Problem der Renaissance* (Darmstadt: 1969) particularly 381–386.

[93] Eliade M., *Die Religionen und das Heilige. Elemente der Religionsgeschichte* (Frankfurt am Main: 1998) particularly 400–402 and 455–458; Eliade M., *Kosmos und Geschichte. Der Mythos von der ewigen Wiederkehr* (Frankfurt am Main: 1984) *passim*, particularly 30–33; Versnel H.S., *Transition and Reversal in Myth and Ritual* (Leiden: 1993) particularly chapter 2, 90–135; see also Cocchiara, *Il paese di cuccagna*, particularly 118–120.

[94] Cf. above, notes 36 and 37; Schraven M., "Foundation Rituals in Early Modern Italy".

[95] See above, note 87.

precise centre of the urban complex. The combination of serpent and tree is also an ancient and widespread motif. Just like a python in a laurel tree guarded the oracle of Gaia, mother of the Earth, in Delphi, the serpent often appeared as the protector of a shrine or a treasure, of a community's centre of life, or of the world.[96]

Significantly, Filarete's tree is located in the middle of the central piazza – i.e., in the middle of the urban complex, at the highest point in the city, at the source of its water. In this position, the tree inevitably recalls the old tradition of the Tree of the World, linking the three cosmic realms of heaven, earth and underworld as an *axis mundi*, or axis of the world. As an *imago mundi*, it is also a symbol of vitality, constant renewal, and cosmic regeneration.

The symbol of the eagle has also several meanings, extending beyond the metaphor of sovereignty to a universal appeal and significance: the eagle is a further symbol of the cosmogony enacted by the city's foundation. Firstly, it settles in a tree located at the centre of an octagonal complex (in the form of the city wall) and circular form (in the form of the moat). Secondly, there is also a serpent close by, either dwelling at its feet or in one of the trees nearby.[97] This pattern recalls the archetypical story of the marriage, harmony, reconciliation, unity of above and below, heaven and earth, day and night, light and darkness, etc., usually symbolized – precisely – by the encounter and companionship of the eagle as a creature of the skies and the serpent as the creature of the earth, in a tree, often at the centre of the earth and often on a mountain.[98] All of this applies to Filarete's tale, although in this case there are two trees – in line with the biblical story.

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[96] See, for example, Egli H., *Das Schlangensymbol. Geschichte – Märchen – Mythos* (Düsseldorf: 2003) 119–137. Cf. the references given in note 98 on the combination of the motifs of eagle and serpent.

[97] Filarete confuses the trees on several occasions; in Lib. VI, *Magl.*, fol. 25v, for example, the eagle – whose nest has been described several times as being in the oak – is connected with the laurel tree.

[98] In Greek mythology, the eagle is assigned to Zeus, the father of the gods, while his consort, the goddess Hera, mother and representative of everything earthly, is surrounded by serpents. The union of Zeus and Hera, who incidentally have the same parents – i.e., the same origin – signifies harmony between heaven and earth. Here again, the reconciliation between the eagle and the serpent symbolizes a return to an original state. In historical time, the link between the two gods was celebrated in Athens and on the island of Samos as the *hieros gamos* (sacred marriage). See Avagianou A., *Sacred Marriage in the Rituals of Greek Religion* (Bern: 1991). Examples from Greco-Roman antiquity of the eagle as a messenger of the gods, as a good or bad auspice, and the antagonism between the eagle and the serpent are legion: see,

Creating and Commemorating a New World

To sum up: during the foundation of a city formed as an image of the world, on the birthday of the world, which is initiated by a regenerative, purifying human sacrifice, the eagle and serpent find each other on a tree at the centre of a circular or star-shaped complex (the world). A tall tower is to be built there to symbolize the course of the year in various ways, and the water ensuring the life of the city (the world) is to flow from that point.

With this presentation, Filarete clearly placed the historical foundation of the new city at the level of the divine creation of the world at the origin of time, repeating the divine act of creation in a physical and symbolic form. The re-actualization of cosmogony is a return to an original state, a primordial unity, wholeness and harmony to ensure wisdom, prosperity and stability for the new cosmos. Rather than a mathematically constructed and practicable design for a city, Filarete is far more concerned with the meaning of the city's design in relation to his activities and self-image as the architect of the 'Renaissance'. Through a creative re-creation of the very basis of any improvement in humanity – namely, its built environment –, the architect will achieve nothing less than a restoration of the divine creation, which has become corrupted over time.

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for example, Keller, *Tiere des klassischen Altertums* 236–276; Thompson, *Glossary of Greek Birds* 1–10. Of particular note in the present context, however, is the founding myth of the city of Tyre (in today's Lebanon), which describes the olive tree of Athena at the centre of a complex (originally a floating island), with an eagle perched on its branches and a serpent coiled around its trunk. See Nonnus, *Dionysiaca* XL.468–500; cf. Wolff-Windegg P., *Die Gekrönten. Sinn und Sinnbilder des Königtums* (Stuttgart: 1958) 186. The double symbol of the eagle and serpent as representatives of two different realms in polar opposition to each other is by no means limited to the Greco-Roman tradition, however, but is ubiquitous. The battle between and reconciliation of the divine bird and the monster, between the powers above and those below, is part of the most ancient human folklore. In Germanic mythology, for example, the eagle is seated on the Ash of the World, Yggdrasil, and the serpent or dragon Nidhogg is placed in the roots of the tree; honeydew flows from the ash Yggdrasil onto the earth (cf. Filarete's account, and particularly the reverse of his portrait medal [Fig. 6]). In certain central Asian tales, the serpent Abyrga coils around the tree while the eagle Garide, which lives in the top of the tree, attacks it. Cf. Holmberg U., *Der Baum des Lebens* (Helsinki: 1922) particularly 67–68; Wittkower R., "Eagle and Serpent. A Study in the Migration of Symbols", *Journal of the Warburg Institute* 2 (1939) 293–325; Butterworth E.A.S., *The Tree at the Navel of the Earth* (Berlin: 1970) particularly chapter 7; Lurker M., *Adler und Schlange. Tiersymbolik im Glauben und Weltbild der Völker* (Tübingen: 1983); see also Egli, *Das Schlangensymbol* 253–256.

In the suggestions for implementing this ambitious symbolism, Filarete is far more realistic. Well aware that his city would inevitably decay, just like Rome or Thebes in Egypt, the architect called on ways of ensuring fame and tradition for posterity. The longevity of the city could not be ensured by the influence of the stars or sympathetic magic alone. As a Renaissance man, Filarete is both a magician and a 'modern', rational person who assumes that human beings are free and independent – and consequently weak and unstable. Ultimately, humanity will decide its own fate, and that is why God endowed Man with free will.[99] But Man's will is weak and fraught with dangers, as shown by the destructions of war. Mankind therefore needs models and advice to follow. Neither divine predestination, nor human attempts to regulate the future once and for all, in the end can ensure a society's continuance. From this follows that the permanence of creation can only be ensured by the constant education of human beings in the ways of virtue.

This permanent training of human beings in virtue takes place in four different ways in Filarete's *Libro architettonico:* through the organization of urban space;[100] through institutions, particularly schools and prisons, which Filarete described in detail;[101] through 'speaking' buildings, such as the famous 'House of Virtues and Vices';[102] and above all by embellishing the city with instructive works of art and sculpture. The city as a whole is presented as an educational structure, the bearer of a true *orbis pictus* of the type we encounter again in the

[99] See in particular Lib. I, *Magl.*, fol. 5r, where in the midst of demonstrating that all good forms, proportions and measures in architecture must be based on man, Filarete even makes a theological statement: 'Therefore God wished that man, just as he was made in His image, should make something similar to himself. In this way [man] participates in God by making something in his image through the use of his God-given intellect.' Human beings have not only been given understanding by God, but can also use it freely and responsibly – i.e., the development of creation depends on the way in which man uses his understanding. In this way, mankind participates in divine creation.

[100] Rahmsdorf S., *Stadt und Architektur in der literarischen Utopie der frühen Neuzeit* (Heidelberg: 1999) 53–59.

[101] Günther H., "Society in Filarete's *Libro architettonico* between Realism, Ideal, Science Fiction and Utopia", in Hub, *Architettura e Umanesimo* 56–80.

[102] Lib. XVIII. Cf. Bauer H., *Kunst und Utopie. Studien über das Kunst- und Staatsdenken in der Renaissance* (Berlin: 1965) 78–81; see also Hidaka K., "La casa della virtù e del vizio nel trattato del Filarete", in Guillaume J. (ed.), *Les traités d'architecture de la Renaissance* (Paris: 1988) 115–128; and Oppio L., "La casa della virtù e del vizio del Filarete e le allegorie vinciane del piacere e dispiacere", *Achademia Leonardi Vinci* 8 (1995) 190–193.

later literary utopias of figures, such as Tommaso Campanella or Kaspar Stiblin.[103] The paintings, mosaics and sculptures with their inscriptions served in Filarete in the first place to provide general education in the natural sciences and to present models and deterrent examples from history and mythology. Yet he also placed special emphasis on depictions designed to anchor the city's macrocosmic references and the circumstances attending its foundation permanently in the citizens' minds, thus ensuring their continued efficacy.

Most prominent in this respect is the fountain in the courtyard of the ducal palace, flanked by the two trees that played such an important role in the founding of the city.[104] Throughout the text, it is stated repeatedly that the trees must be preserved at all costs, as a kind of relics.[105] The fountain contains sculpture (the eagle in the oak), reliefs (showing the ceremonies and auguries) and explanatory inscriptions to inscribe into the citizen's collective memory the rites and events enacted at the site during the foundation of the city [Fig. 9].

Once again, Filarete emphasized that the fountain must be located at the precise centre of the entire complex, where the auguries had taken place – although this lead him into several contradictions, as he had previously placed at this same point the calendar tower as the *axis mundi*, a water reservoir as the middle of the central *piazza*, and finally the tree of life guarded by the serpent. However, Filarete is not describing the founding of a real city, but that of an ideal one, in which functions are subordinated to their significance. All of his *fantasie* signify that the architect of the Renaissance – Filarete – would be able to achieve nothing less than the founding of a new and better world, if he were only given the necessary (unlimited) resources and a free hand in implementing it.

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[103] On Filarete's educational programme in the context of literary utopia, see Rahmsdorf, *Stadt und Architektur*, particularly 53–59.

[104] Lib. IX, *Magl.*, fol. 68r. The only discussion of this to date is in Sinisi S., "Il Palazzo della Memoria", *Arte Lombarda* 38 (1973) 150–160, here 158.

[105] Lib. V, *Magl.*, fol. 43v; Lib. VI, *Magl.*, fols. 45r–45v.

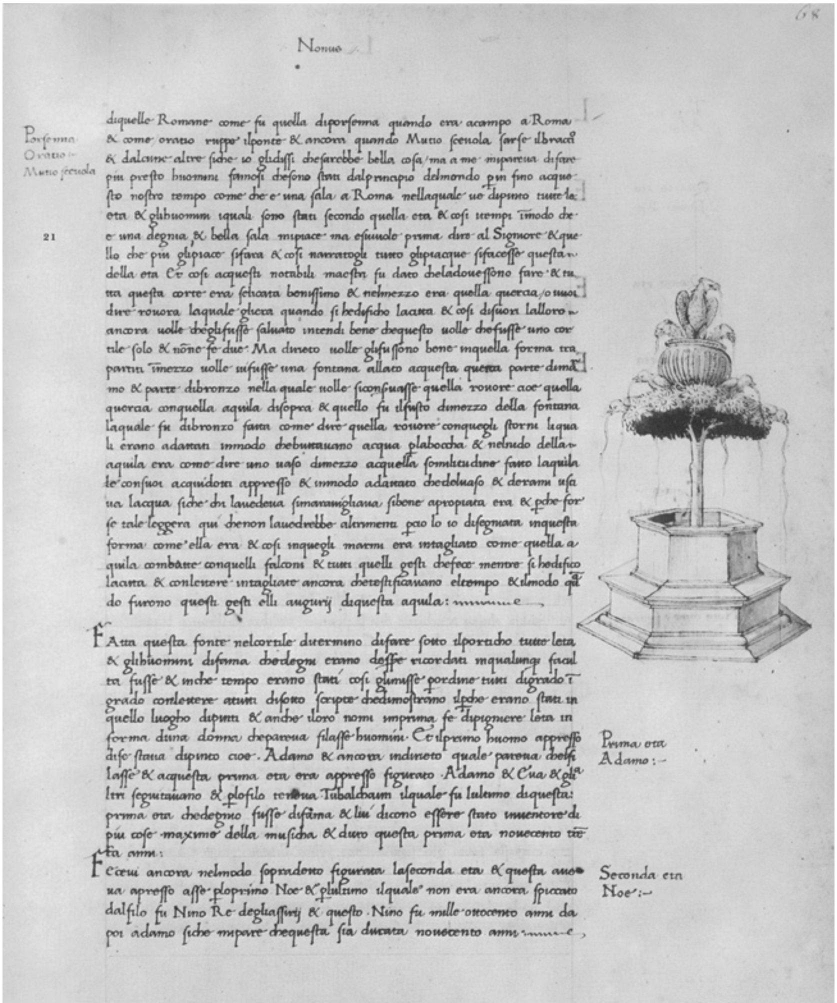

Fig. 9. Filarete, *Fountain in the Courtyard of the Ducal Palace at the Centre of the City*, c. 1460. Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Codex Magliabechianus II.I.140, fol. 68r (© Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale).

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STEPPING OUT OF BRUNELLESCHI'S SHADOW. THE CONSECRATION OF SANTA MARIA DEL FIORE AS INTERNATIONAL STATECRAFT IN MEDICEAN FLORENCE

Roger J. Crum

In his *De pictura* of 1435 (translated by the author into Italian as *Della pittura* in 1436) Leon Battista Alberti praised Brunelleschi's dome of Florence cathedral, Santa Maria del Fiore [Fig. 1], as 'such a large structure' that it rose 'above the skies, ample to cover with its shadow all the Tuscan people'.[1] Alberti was writing metaphorically, but he might as easily have written literally in prediction of the shadowing effect that Brunelleschi's dome, dedicated on 30 August 1436, would eventually cast over the Florentine cultural and historical landscape of the next several centuries.[2] So ever-present has Brunelleschi's structure been in the historical perspective of scholars – not to mention in the more popular conception of Florence – that its stately coming into being in the Quattrocento has almost fully overshadowed in memory and sense of importance another significant moment in the history of the cathedral and city of Florence that immediately preceded the dome's dedication in 1436: the consecration of Santa Maria del Fiore itself on 25 March of that same year.[3]

The cathedral was consecrated by Pope Eugenius IV (r. 1431–1447), and the ceremony witnessed the unification in purpose of high ecclesiastical, foreign, and Florentine dignitaries. The event brought to a close a history that had begun 140 years earlier when the first stones of the church were laid in 1296; in 1436, the actual date of the consecration was particularly auspicious, for not only is 25 March the feast of the Annunciation, but in the Renaissance that day was also the start of the Florentine calendar year. Christological narrative and

[1] See Hyman I. (ed.), *Brunelleschi in Perspective* (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: 1974), 27.

[2] For Brunelleschi's dome, see Saalman H., *Filippo Brunelleschi: The Cupola of Santa Maria del Fiore* (London: 1980); Fanelli G. – Fanelli M., *Brunelleschi's Cupola: Past and Present of an Architectural Masterpiece* (Florence: 2004); and King R., *Brunelleschi's Dome: How a Renaissance Genius Reinvented Architecture* (New York: 2000).

[3] For the consecration of the cathedral, see notes 5–7 below.

Fig. 1. View on Brunelleschi's Dome of Florence Cathedral from the Via dello Studio (photo: author).

local history, foreign purpose, and local identity were thus pointedly brought together in the dedication of Florence's principal religious structure. The consecration of Santa Maria del Fiore was clearly intended to cast its own shadow not just across Florence, Tuscany, and beyond but across time and historical import as well. It deserves our attention as a ceremony of significant historical importance, as a crowning moment in the architectural history of Renaissance Florence, and as a lens through which to examine larger forces that drove the Renaissance city in the age of Brunelleschi's dome.

It is surprising that this papal-Florentine event of the consecration of Santa Maria del Fiore has not figured prominently in histories of Quattrocento Florence.[4] Indeed, it has only been in recent decades that scholars have studied the consecration in any detail and have brought that singular occasion out from beneath the shadow of Brunelleschi's dome. After Eugenio Battisti's publication of Giannozzo Manetti's account of the consecration (*De secularibus et pontificalibus pompis*), and with the exception of a few other minor references to and discussions of the consecrations in the literature, it was not until Caroline van Eck's essay of 1998 on the verbal strategies Manetti used in describing the Florentine Cathedral that the subject was taken up in substantial detail.[5] Since van Eck's work, Dale Kent, in her wide-ranging treatment of Cosimo de' Medici as a patron of art, has illuminated the role that this Florentine banker and statesman played in the consecration as he communicated to Florentines a theme of mercy, intercession, redemption, renewal, and reconciliation at the dawn of the new Medici regime.[6] Marvin Trachtenberg, in an extension of his expertise in medieval architectural history into the field of the history of music,

[4] As far as papal-Florentine events are concerned, and specifically those involving Eugenius IV and the Medici, most histories of the city overlook the consecration completely or nearly so in favor of fuller attention to the Council of Florence in 1439. For the Council of Florence, see Gill J., *The Council of Florence* (Cambridge: 1959); Gill J., *Personalities of the Council of Florence* (New York: 1964); and, more recently, Wilson N.G., *From Byzantium to Italy: Greek Studies in the Italian Renaissance* (Baltimore: 1992).

[5] Battisti E., "Il mondo visuale della Fiabe", *Archivio di Filosofia*, special issue: *Umanesimo e esoterismo* (1960) 291–320, based on Vat. Lat. 2919; Eck C. van, "Giannozzo Manetti on Architecture: the *Oratio de secularibus et pontificalibus pompis in consecratione basilicae Florentinae* of 1436", *Renaissance Studies* 12 (1998) 449–475. See ibidem, 449–450, note 3 for the bibliography after Battisti.

[6] Kent D., *Cosimo de' Medici and the Florentine Renaissance* (New Haven: 2000) 124–128.

has discussed the structure and imagery of Guillaume Dufay's commissioned motet *Nuper rosarum flores* in relation to the architecture and symbolism of Florence cathedral.[7] And, most recently, Christine Smith and Joseph O'Connor have explored the consecration as the subject of the humanist prose, architectural ekphrasis, and the Renaissance rhetoric of Giannozzo Manetti's account.[8]

What unites these different studies is that Kent, Trachtenberg, and Smith and O'Connor all see the consecration as only in part about the completion of the building itself. In the perspectives of these scholars the consecration, both in its pageantry and in the presence of its participants, became indicative a variety of contemporary objectives and agenda. But are there more dimensions to the consecration than these authors so ably illuminate? Giannozzo Manetti wrote that his goal in writing about the consecration was less to provide description per se of its particular details than to offer testimony through the ceremony to the glory of God and the praise of the city.[9] He goes so far as to place the cathedral as being, in his estimation, among the Seven Wonders of the World; while this equation is undoubtedly tied to Manetti's rhetorical ekphrasis of the building, it is nonetheless clear that he is thinking of the consecration as an opportunity to impress upon his reader the deep historical and meaningful international significance of the Florentine achievement in Santa Maria del Fiore.[10]

The consecration was an event that happened in Florence. It was not, however, strictly a local happening of parochial significance. In this essay I take this cue from Manetti's dual purpose and build upon the foundational work of van Eck, Kent, Trachtenberg, and Smith and O'Connor to suggest that a major contemporary and intended meaning of the consecration must have been its international (if not universal) dimensions in the early years of the Medici regime as that regime was seeking not simply to secure its foothold in Florence but across and beyond the Italian peninsula as well.[11] In this light it is telling that

[7] Trachtenberg M., "Architecture and Music Reunited: A New Reading of Dufay's 'Nuper Rosarum Flores' and the Cathedral of Florence", *Renaissance Quarterly* 54 (2001) 740–775.

[8] Smith C. – O'Connor J.F., *Building the Kingdom: Giannozzo Manetti on the Material and Spiritual Edifice* (Tempe, Arizona – Turnhout: 2006) 31–49, 329–359.

[9] Smith – O'Connor, *Building the Kingdom* 32.

[10] Ibidem, 45.

[11] For the fledgling Medici regimes in these years, and the relationship between local and international politics, see Rubinstein N., *The Government of Florence under*

years ago Ferdinand Schevill specifically employed the example of the consecration as an occasion 'to illustrate the always busy interaction [in the city's history] between the happenings outside and inside the Florentine walls.' Schevill's discussion of the consecration is brief but sufficient to underscore the international import of the event that drew upon the historic international reach of the Florentines while simultaneously underlining the international connections and bases of power of Cosimo de' Medici and his regime.[12] Arguably this internationalism was the dominant light of the consecration that shown in 1436 across the city, the Tuscany people, and well beyond, and this was an illumination much brighter in what it actually delineated about Renaissance Florence – and Medicean Florence of the moment – than anything that Brunelleschi's dome may otherwise have touched by its shadow.[13]

The Consecration

Eugenius IV consecrated Santa Maria del Fiore in a ceremony the magnitude of which the Florentine populace had rarely if ever

the Medici (1434 to 1494), 2nd edition (Oxford: 1997). For the international dimensions of Medici power, particularly as rooted in their banking structure, see De Roover R., *The Rise and Decline of the Medici Bank* (Cambridge – London: 1963).

[12] Schevill F., *History of Florence from the Founding of the City through the Renaissance* (New York: 1961) 362.

[13] There is compelling, supporting evidence that church consecrations in Florence, especially those within recent memory of the consecration of S. Maria del Fiore, were understood – and even commemorated visually in fresco – as not just major ceremonial events, but also as key political moments of local and international import. See particularly the discussion of the frescoes that were painted in conjunction with the consecrations of S. Egidio (1420) and S. Maria del Carmine (1422) in Holmes M., *Fra Filippo Lippi, The Carmelite Painter* (New Haven – London: 1999) 42–50. The consecration of S. Egidio was performed by Pope Martin V, while that of S. Maria del Carmine was conducted by the Archbishop of Florence. Prominent members of the contemporary political regime of Florence (that of the Albizzi family) were in attendance at both consecrations. Evidence from Bicci di Lorenzo's extant fresco of the festivities at S. Egidio (Florence, Ospedale di Santa Maria Nuova), and documentary evidence of Masaccio's lost 'Sagra' fresco of the commemorations at S. Maria del Carmine suggest that these individuals were depicted in these visual records. Memory of these major consecrations during the Albizzi regime in Florence must have remained strong during the early years of the subsequent Medici regime when the cathedral was consecrated by Pope Eugenius IV in the presence of Cosimo de' Medici and notable members of his political regime. For a later drawing after Masaccio's fresco and Bicci di Lorenzo's now detached fresco, see Holmes, *Fra Filippo Lippi* 44–45, figs. 36 and 37.

experienced.[14] Contemporary sources claim that there were upwards of 200,000 people in attendance, a number that Dale Kent believes surely was intended to include the entire population of Florence as well as the addition of many Florentine citizens from the surrounding countryside and dominion.[15] Leonardo Bruni noted in his *Commentari* that 'on the day of the [consecration] the flocking together of men from the countryside, from the neighboring towns, and from Pisa, the urban multitude was so great that all the avenues and all the roads were filled'.[16] Notably those in attendance, and particularly those in ceremonial roles, were not limited to Florentines. According to Vespasiano da Bisticci, who wrote of the event in his biography of Eugenius, the consecration brought into Florence 'a splendid gathering of prelates and ambassadors from all parts'.[17] The Pope was attended by a retinue that included the Patriarch of Jerusalem, seven cardinals, six archbishops, thirty-one bishops, and the entirely of the Florentine Signoria, members of the city's legislative councils, and principal citizens of the city; in his company were ambassadors from the Holy Roman Emperor, the King of France, the King of Aragon, the Duke of Milan, and the communes of Venice and Genoa; finally, the Pope was also accompanied by Giovanni Vitelleschi, the papal general, and Sigismondo Malatesta, who was both lord of the papal fief of Rimini and captain of the Florentine armies.[18] The inseparably ecclesiastical and political dimension of the consecration is made clear by the fact that on that occasion the dignitaries in attendance were treated to a banquet in their honor that was held in the Florentine city hall, the Palazzo della Signoria.[19]

Brunelleschi's dome provided the canopy under which the actual ritual and mass of consecration took place. The vast interior was also decorated with various shields and banners, doubtless representing the various Florentine and foreign parties in attendance, and it is known

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[14] For ceremony and public life in Renaissance Florence in general, see Trexler R.C., *Public Life in Renaissance Florence* (New York: 1980). One author who does underscore the magnitude of the consecration is King, *Brunelleschi's Dome* 137.

[15] Kent, *Cosimo de' Medici* 125.

[16] Ibidem.

[17] *Renaissance Princes, Popes, and Prelates: The Vespasiano Memoires*, trsl. W. George and E. Waters (New York – Evanston – London: 1963) 23.

[18] For the dignitaries in attendance, see Kent, *Cosimo de' Medici* 126; Smith – O'Connor, *Building the Kingdom* 346–347.

[19] Rubinstein N., *The Palazzo Vecchio 1298–1532* (Oxford: 1995) 103.

that as late as February 16, just a little over a month before the consecration, local painters were engaged to paint images of the twelve apostles specifically for the occasion.[20] Once in the cathedral for the ceremony, in a space 'nobly adorned and filled with curtains and ornaments fitting for such a solemn occasion' in Vespasiano's words, those in attendance observed the ceremony as it took place on a temporary wooden platform at the center of the east end; they also likely heard the music of Guillaume Dufay's motet *Nuper rosarum flores* that had been specifically commissioned for the consecration.[21] Dufay was then in the service of Eugenius.

Interestingly, it was less the canopy of Brunelleschi's dome that contemporary commentators noted as impressive in their references to the consecration than it was the platform and walkway ('ponte') that Brunelleschi designed and had constructed for the occasion.[22] From the church of Santa Maria Novella, where Eugenius IV had been in residence since the summer of 1434, to the area of the cathedral, Brunelleschi's walkway rose approximately four feet above the pavement and was about eight feet wide. It ran a distance from beginning to end of approximately 1,000 feet. From the various descriptions that survive, we have a fairly good impression of the walkway as a structure covered with tapestries and other hangings, equipped with columns and benches along its way, hung with the heraldic colors of the Papacy and various coats of arms and insignias, and draped with fragrant boughs of myrtle, laurel, pine, and cypress.[23] Equated by

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[20] Saalman, *Filippo Brunelleschi* 275. Saalman reports that the painters were Bicci (presumably Bicci di Lorenzo), Rosetto (perhaps Rosello di Jacopo), Giovanni di Marco, and Lippo (perhaps Lippo d'Andrea). See also Smith – O'Connor, *Building the Kingdom* 357.

[21] See Trachtenberg, "Architecture and Music" 741. While Trachtenberg (771) acknowledges that 'we don't even know at what point in the consecration ceremony [Dufay's] motet was performed […]', there is the remote possibility that while commissioned for the occasion it was not actually performed at all. The performance of the motet is not mentioned by Manetti, but that itself does not constitute evidence that it was not performed.

[22] The walkway was commissioned on 9 March 1436. See Smith – O'Connor, *Building the Kingdom* 334. The walkway is specifically mentioned in the two inscriptions, one composed by Leonardo Bruni and the other by Andrea di Domenico Fiocchi, that are still visible within the cathedral. See Smith – O'Connor, *Building the Kingdom* 343–344.

[23] For descriptions of the bridge, see *Renaissance Princes, Popes, and Prelates* 23; Kent, *Cosimo de' Medici* 125; and Smith – O'Connor, *Building the Kingdom* 31–49; 329–359, 343–345.

Giannozzo Manetti to nothing less than the ancient Roman Sublician Bridge over the Tiber, the platform accommodated first the Florentine contingent and then the papal entourage.[24] The entire assemblage (both Brunelleschi's construction and the linked Florentine civic and papal parades and entourages) was, in Vespasiano da Bisticci's words, 'a sight marvellous to behold.'[25]

With the exception of the cathedral itself, Brunelleschi's dome, and the area between the papal residence at Santa Maria Novella and Santa Maria del Fiore, nothing remains of the consecration aside from the literary record in Manetti's text, several other contemporary writings, and the two dedicatory inscriptions within the cathedral. Much later in date, though still relating to the consecration, is the statue of Eugenius IV that adorns the nineteenth-century façade of Santa Maria del Fiore.[26] Like so many ephemeral displays in the city, ones often highly decorated, all the Renaissance components of the consecration have been lost. Nonetheless, something of the processional pageantry of the consecration is found in a later Quattrocento manuscript illumination painted by Francesco di Antonio del Chierico [Fig. 2]. This illumination is preserved in a Gradual in the Biblioteca Laurenziana in Florence.[27]

The illumination shows the arrival of both the papal and civic entourages before the steps at the central portal of the cathedral.

[24] Smith – O'Connor, *Building the Kingdom* 343 surmise that Manetti may have made reference to the Sublician Bridge 'either because it, like the one in Florence, was all of wood (in fact it was forbidden to use metal in the Sublician Bridge for religious reasons), or because of its other religious associations. The [ancient bridge] was under the direct care of the Pontifex Maximus. Since the word "pontifex" (="Pontiff"), which means "bridge-builder", is also the title of the pope, it is especially appropriate that such a bridge was built for the pope to walk on'. For this subject in general, see Seppilli A., *Sacralità dell'acqua e sacrilegio dei ponti: persistenza di simboli e dinamica culturale* (Palermo: 1990) and Schraven's contribution to this volume.

[25] *Renaissance Princes, Popes, and Prelates* 23. The closest approximations in the remaining Florentine visual record to what the walkway appears to have been and looked like are found in various representations of public festivities and private ceremonial activities in surviving cassone panels from the period. See most recently, Bayer A. (ed.), *Art and Love in Renaissance Italy* (New York – New Haven: 2008).

[26] See *Firenze e Provincia* (Milan: 1993) 155.

[27] Biblioteca Laurenziana, MS. Edili 151, fol. 7v; fol. 74r. See Smith – O'Connor, *Building the Kingdom* 348; Kent, *Cosimo de' Medici* 126, fig. 42. Born in 1433 and active c. 1452 to his death in 1484, Francesco di Antonio del Chierico was an associate of Vespasiano da Bisticci and is known to have worked in the circle of artists and illuminators favored by the Medici. See the website www.getty.edu/art/gettyguide/artMakerDetails?maker=1194.

Fig. 2. Francesco di Antonio del Chierico, *Pope Eugenius IV arriving at Florence Cathedral for the Ceremony of Consecration in 1436*, illumination. Florence, Biblioteca Laurenziana ms. Edili 151, fol. 7v (© Florence, Biblioteca Laurenziana).

Accompanied by an array of Cardinals to the left and one Cardinal to the right who holds a processional cross, Eugenius IV occupies near center position in the illumination where he is nearly enframed by the central door of the cathedral. That doorway is occupied by what initially appear to be waiting members of the Florentine clergy, but upon closer examination it is easily seen that their mouths are open, revealing them as members of a choir and perhaps therein embodying a reference to the singing of Dufay's motet at the consecration.[28] One way or the other, the layering of their bodies and heads suggests a continued magnitude of people within the church. On the steps outside the church is an assortment of generic individuals whose lay apparel suggests that they are to be understood as members of the accompanying Florentine civic procession. And almost as though they are presiding over the ceremony, Donatello's *St John* and Nanni di Banco's *St Luke* are positioned on the façade of the cathedral to the left and right of the central portal.

The Biblioteca Laurenziana illumination is unquestionably a representation primarily of a papal event taking place in Florence. Eugenius IV occupies center stage, so to speak, in the illusionistic central field as he stands before the church he is about to dedicate after having descended from the elevated walkway that he has just traversed from Santa Maria Novella. His papal person and those Florentines who are represented to either side behind and to the right and left of the depicted Cardinals seem very much to be representatives of two related but separate entourages. There is, however, one telling detail in the representation of Eugenius that urges consideration of the unity of these two groups and the linkages between the local (Florentine) and international (papal) aspects of the consecration. Upon close examination Eugenius' vestment reveals the image of an Agnus Dei holding a white flag with a red cross, the highly recognizable symbol of the Arte della Lana, the local wool guild that held patronage responsibility over the built fabric of Santa Maria del Fiore.[29] With this heraldic and corporate inclusion in the Pope's vestments, Eugenius becomes

[28] See note 21 above.

[29] For the Arte della Lana and the Cathedral, see Borsook E., *The Companion Guide to Florence*, 5th edition (London – New York: 1988) 77. For the Agnus Dei image and the wool guild, see Brucker G., *Florence: The Golden Age, 1138–1737* (Berkeley – Los Angeles – London: 1998) 114–115.

symbolically one with Florence in this representation and merges in his person the local and international elements of the consecration.

Based upon the visual evidence of the Biblioteca Laurenziana illumination, this union of Eugenius IV and Florence seems obvious to modern eyes; it must have seemed nearly miraculous, or at least notably momentous, to contemporary observers for there was nothing ordinary whatsoever in the Pope's participation in the ceremony and, particularly, his appearance in public to do so. Since May 1434, when Eugenius first took up residence at Santa Maria Novella, he had rarely ventured outside that Dominican monastery and when he did he was only seen by the Florentine populace at a distance. His participation in the consecration must then have had a particular intensity and presence for Florentines, almost akin to a religious apparition.

Again, what one sees in the illumination is the prominence of Eugenius IV, who occupies nearly the whole of the central space, and the subordination of the Florentines, who are grouped in the main to the left and right at the peripheral reaches of the image. However, it is not insignificant that Eugenius' upraised and blessing hands and the central portal of Santa Maria del Fiore are essentially united at the vanishing point of the perspective composition, clearly joining in significance the person of the celebrant and the object of the celebration. Through the compositional means of perspective – itself a technique experimented with if not invented by Brunelleschi some decades earlier when seated within this very same doorway – Florence and by extension of the Florentines assume a united and co-equal prominence with Eugenius in the consecration.[30]

Finally, we should not regard the placement of the Florentines at the periphery to the left and right of this image as any indication of their subordination and marginalization in the event itself. On the contrary, the placement of contemporaries in the wings, so to speak, of Florentine imagery from the Masaccio to Ghirlandaio (and definitely encompassing the era of the Biblioteca Laurenziana image) suggests that peripheral physical placement of individuals was actually a way to emphasize their importance. Indeed, in the case of representations of the Medici and others toward the edges of Domenico Ghirlandaio's Sassetti Chapel frescoes in S. Trinita, we can conclude that such

[30] For the development of perspective in Florence, see Edgerton Jr. S.Y., *The Renaissance Rediscovery of Linear Perspective* (New York: 1975).

a positioning carried with it not simply an endorsement of the central scene but also some sense of patronage over either its happening, its remembrance, and its meaning.[31]

Thus, by contemporary visual standards and codes of representation, Florence and the Florentines, as much as Eugenius and his papal entourage, are presented in the Biblioteca Laurenziana image as co-participants and co-celebrants of the consecration of Santa Maria del Fiore. This is in line with what Christine Smith and Joseph O'Connor write of Giannozzo Manetti's intent in describing the joint papal and civic parades that led to the cathedral. 'Manetti wants us', underscore Smith and O'Connor, 'to see the secular and papal *pompae* as a unified parade in two parts [...]; [Manetti] represents the event as the unification of Florentine polity and papal authority'.[32]

This Florentine habit of purposefully 'side-lining' contemporary individuals in visual representations of contemporary, historic, or religious events seems to have been highly developed (and widely understood) visual strategy in fifteenth-century Florence for designating much less the insignificance that the absolute centrality of those represented at the flanks of images. What is more, given that this visual strategy was most often seen in Florentine images that brought actual individuals into proximity with saintly figures or miraculous events (witness any number of Florentine *sacra conversazione* altarpieces or frescoes, such as those from the Ghirlandaio workshop), it is again noteworthy that Eugenius IV had only a very occasional public presence in Florence during his sojourn in the city and therefore any appearance of his papal person in proximity with contemporary Florentines, as represented in the Biblioteca Laurenziana image, must have been read not simply as 'history' but possibly also as 'miraculous history'. In this case, it would have been 'miraculous history' sponsored by the Medici and their regime. The logical question, then, is where are the Medici in the unified image of Florence and foreign interests represented in the Biblioteca Laurenziana illumination of the consecration? They are obviously not here, but that does not mean that this image is un-illustrative of Medici involvement or unhelpful in interpreting the Medici role in the consecration. Indeed, the image with its notable

[31] For the Sassetti Chapel frescoes, see Borsook E. – Offerhaus J., *Francesco Sassetti and Ghirlandaio at S. Trinita* (Doornspijk: 1981).

[32] Smith – O'Connor, *Building the Kingdom* 35–36.

absence of the Medici becomes a kind of visual metaphor for what we know of the actual presence though modest positioning of the Medici in the consecration itself.

Cosimo de' Medici could only have been centrally involved in both the planning and the act of the consecration by virtue of his close personal, political, and financial relationship with Eugenius IV and the Papacy. The early rise of the Medici in Florence, especially around the years of the Albizzi-Medici conflict, the expulsion of Cosimo and his Medici partisans by the Albizzi in 1433, and Cosimo's triumphant recall to Florence the year after are generally told as a history of internal, factional affairs.[33] As suggested above, local and recent political history and memory of the tensions between the Medici and the Albizzi families and their regimes must have been a factor in the consecration of the cathedral given the role that the Albizzi regime had played in major church consecrations of the previous decade.[34] But this same history of local conflict was notably intersected by that of Eugenius, who arrived in Florence in a kind of exile himself from Rome in May 1434, played a significant role in the final moments of the Medici-Albizzi controversy, and was instrumental in lending his influence to the recall of Cosimo de' Medici from exile in September 1434.[35] In this regard it is noteworthy that at the consecration Eugenius was attended by the papal general and military commander Giovanni Vitelleschi

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[33] See Kent D.V., *The Rise of the Medici Faction in Florence, 1426–1434* (Oxford: 1978); and Rubinstein, *The Government of Florence*.

[34] See note 13 above. As Holmes notes, not only had Martin V presided over the consecration of S. Egidio, but prominent citizens of the current regime were centrally involved in the event: Lorenzo Ridolfi, Matteo Castellani, Palla Strozzi, Rinaldo degli Albizzi, Carlo Federighi, Gherardo Canigiani, Filippo Giugni, and Giovanni di Bicci de' Medici. A similarly prominent array of citizens participated in the consecration of S. Maria del Carmine, and they included (in addition to the artists Brunelleschi, Donatello, and Masolino) Antonio Brancacci, Niccolò da Uzzano, Giovanni di Bicci de' Medici, Bartolommeo Valori, and Lorenzo Ridolfi. See Holmes, *Fra Filippo Lippi* 43.

[35] For the relationship between Cosimo de' Medici and Eugenius IV, who spent eight of the sixteen years of his pontificate in Florence as a guest essentially of the Medici, see Najemy J.M., *A History of Florence, 1200–1575* (Malden, Mass.: 2006) 276–291. Kent D., "The Buonomini di San Martino: Charity for 'the glory of God, the honour of the city, and the commemoration of myself'", in Ames-Lewis F. (ed.), *Cosimo 'il Vecchio' de' Medici, 1389–1464* (Oxford: 1992) 49–67, esp. 51, notes that 'The Pope resided in Florence for much of the decade after 1433; a spiritual and clerical leader with close personal ties to his Medici bankers, his influence on Florentine political, social, and cultural life in this period has yet to be assessed'. Eugenius left Florence in April 1436 and returned in 1439 for the Council of Florence. For the Medici and the Papacy, see generally, Holmes G., "How the Medici Became the Pope's Bankers", in Rubinstein N. (ed.), *Florentine Studies* (London: 1968) 357–380.

who, as Dale Kent observes, had intervened in the crisis of 1434 to allow the Medici to return from exile; Vitelleschi was also shortly to be appointed Archbishop of Florence.[36] After the consecration Eugenius remained in Florence during the formative years of the Medici regime, and together with Cosimo staged the successful Council of Florence in 1439. Finally, Eugenius was also engaged in aligning with Florence in a major alliance among the Papal States, Florence, and Venice against the expansionist interests of the Duchy of Milan; in this regard, the presence at the consecration of the Venetian ambassador, together with the pope, must have registered with contemporaries as a powerful indication of this extra-Florentine commitment.[37]

The point is that the Medici were inevitably behind the consecration of Santa Maria del Fiore, but in their well-developed habit of ruling from some remove (almost 'behind the screens', to borrow an expression that is often used to describe the exercise of concealed power by Japanese emperors), their actual presence in the ceremony seems to have been modest and unassertive, at least in the preliminary parade from Santa Maria Novella to the cathedral as no contemporary account singles them out as participants in that spectacle. Instead, we know that Cosimo de' Medici joined Eugenius at the high altar of the cathedral and there interceded on behalf of the Florentines by imploring the Pope to increase the number of available indulgences available to Florentines for the remission of their sins in purgatory.[38] Eugenius obliged, and he could hardly have done otherwise for he was consecrating a church in a city essentially run by an individual, Cosimo de' Medici, who had provided him with continued sanctuary and refuge from his trouble in Rome. Dufay's motet completed this theme by referencing how Florence and its cathedral had become a paradise and a Heavenly Jerusalem and calling upon the Virgin to act as intercessor for the Florentine people.[39] As Dale Kent observes, at 'every point in the events of 25 March 1436 the signs of association and cooperation between Eugenius IV and his friend and banker Cosimo de' Medici are evident'.[40] It is thus significant that Giannozzo Manetti's account

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[36] Kent, *Cosimo de' Medici* 2000; 126–127; Smith – O'Connor, *Building the Kingdom* 333.

[37] On Cosimo, Eugenius IV and mutual interests in foreign alliances, see Najemy, *A History of Florence* 277.

[38] Kent, *Cosimo de' Medici* 126.

[39] See Trachtenberg, "Architecture and Music".

[40] Kent, *Cosimo de' Medici* 127.

of the consecration was commissioned by Agnolo Acciaiuoli, a Medici partisan who had returned from exile to Florence in 1434 when Cosimo de' Medici himself returned from exile.[41]

In *Arts of Power* Randolph Starn and Loren Partridge note that in the nineteenth century Jacob Burckhardt, in his highly influential work *The Civilization of the Renaissance in Italy*, 'claimed that in Italy the state became a work of art'. Focusing on halls of state in the late medieval and Renaissance periods, Starn and Partridge invert Burckhardt's famous conception to suggest that in the same periods 'art became in Italy a work of state'.[42] My argument is that the consecration of Santa Maria del Fiore, sponsored to be sure by the Medici but cleverly allowed by them to be a Florentine and not an entirely Medici event, was really a Medici work of art as a work of state in the era of the fledgling Medici regime and its purposeful intermingling of local and international elements, dignitaries, interests, iconography, and imagery. Indeed, if defined in this manner as a work of art as a work of state, the consecration becomes one of the very first Medici works of art of the new regime.

The consecration has never been identified as such – as either a work of art or, more specifically, a Medici work of art – and that is perhaps attributable to two factors. The first is that as an ephemeral event, the consecration no longer exists and therefore cannot be easily studied as part of Florentine visual culture in the Quattrocento; the second factor is that discussion of Medici imagery, self projection, and definition through the visual arts in the fifteenth century is so predominantly focused around themes of local politics and iconography that scholars have not in equal degree taken the measure of how the family was also involved in defining and promoting its linked local and international interests via its artistic patronage. But the linking of the local and the international runs like a *leitmotiv* in Medici artistic patronage of the fifteenth century, and major iterations of this theme are present in the works and actions commissioned by Cosimo, Piero his son and successor, and Lorenzo the Magnificent in the last third of the century. While numerous examples could be cited, it suffices to mention only the most prominent iterations of the local-international

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[41] Smith – O'Connor, *Building the Kingdom* 329.

[42] Starn R. – Partridge L., *Arts of Power: Three Halls of State in Italy, 1300–1600* (Berkeley – Los Angeles – Oxford: 1992) 3.

theme from the patronage of these three members of the family to begin discerning a pattern that began with the consecration of Santa Maria del Fiore.

Beginning with Cosimo, the most celebrated example would be his sponsorship (again, together with Eugenius) of the Council of Florence in 1439 and the visual commemoration of that Council and its short-lived success at forging a union between the Eastern and Western Churches in Benozzo Gozzoli's *Journey of the Magi* frescoes for the Medici Palace.[43] Piero took up the importance of this theme in certain of his commissions, as in his dedication to the miraculous image of the Virgin at SS. Annunziata and his commissioning there of Michelozzo's tabernacle to house that image. Under Medici patronage this location became essentially an international pilgrimage site and locus of ex votos, including those of prominent foreign associates of the Medici.[44] Finally Lorenzo, raised in the art of politics and the politics of art by both his grandfather and father, would extend this local-international theme in Medicean patronage even beyond the confines of Florence in his use of art as a tool of peninsular diplomacy. This is particularly evident in his recommending of major Florentine masters to Sixtus IV for the decoration of the lower walls of the Sistine Chapel decades before Michelangelo would return to fresco the more widely celebrated ceiling.[45]

In many respects, for all members of the Medici family in the fifteenth century, the Medici Palace became a kind of viewing box and presentation space for the seamless integration of local and international themes in Medici politics and art. Rising as a completely new construction in the years immediately before, during, and after the peninsular Peace of Lodi of 1454, the Medici Palace became a kind of unofficial first Florentine residence where the Medici received foreign dignitaries and heads of state and variously employed the buildings decorations and the family's famed collections to set the stage

[43] See Crum R.J., "Roberto Martelli, The Council of Florence, and the Medici Palace Chapel", *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 59 (1996) 403–417.

[44] On Piero and the Annunziata shrine, see Crum R.J., "Fuori le Mura: Opening up the "Period Eye" in Cosimo "il Vecchio" de' Medici's Florence", in Ames-Lewis F. (ed.), *Florence* (New York: forthcoming); Elam C., "Il palazzo nel contesto della città: strategie urbanistiche dei Medici nel gonfalone del Leon d'Oro, 1415–1430", in Cherubini G. – Fanelli G. (eds.), *Il Palazzo Medici Riccardi di Firenze* (Florence: 1990) 44–57.

[45] See Ettlinger L.D., *The Sistine Chapel before Michelangelo* (Oxford: 1965).

for diplomatic exchange and mutual understanding.[46] It was here that the Medici received, among others, Galeazzo Maria Sforza, the son of Francesco Sforza of Milan and the Medici's principal ally to the north, in 1459. And no better illustration exists of the linkage between the local and the international than the fact that in these same years the Sforza ambassador to the city was almost daily in attendance at the Medici Palace.[47] Perhaps the best evidence of how the Medici may well have actively used their collections to bridge conversations between the local and the international comes from the writings of the Florentine sculptor, architect, and architectural theorist Antonio Averlino, called Filarete, who notes in his treatise on architecture how Piero di Cosimo was in the habit of not only admiring but showing his prized possessions in his studiolo to select visitors.[48] That Filarete was dedicated his treatise to Francesco Sforza, his patron, underscores the difficulty of separating the visual arts in the Medici sphere in Florence and their intended impact beyond the walls of the city. It is said that Cosimo de' Medici carefully developed the habit of speaking, and joking, so that his words would take on double meanings.[49] The same, with regard to both local and international meanings, can be said of how Cosimo, Piero, and Lorenzo envisioned and employed their very local palace and its contents to the dynamics of international diplomacy.[50]

If the consecration of Santa Maria del Fiore was really the first Medici work of art as a work of state, employing as it did the unified iconography of the local and international dimensions of Medici rule, ultimately that state proved fragile and unsustainable. In fact, the challenges of balancing the local and the international in the Medici regime produced fissures in its foundation, beginning small at first

[46] For the Medici Palace and the themes of local and international politics, see Crum R.J., *Retrospection and Response: The Medici Palace in the Service of the Medici, c. 1420–1469*, unpubl.Ph.D. (Pittsburgh: 1992).

[47] See Rubinstein, *The Government of Florence*.

[48] See *Filarete's Treatise on Architecture*, trsl. J.R. Spencer, 2 vols. (New Haven – London: 1965) vol. I, 318–325. I elaborated on this theme in my "Let's Be Diplomatic, or Taking a Second Look at Coins (and Medici Rule) in the Medici Palace", a paper delivered at the 45th International Congress on Medieval Studies, Kalamazoo, Michigan, 2010.

[49] Brown A., "Cosimo de' Medici's Wit and Wisdom", in Ames-Lewis F. (ed.), *Cosimo 'il Vecchio' de' Medici, 1389–1464* (Oxford: 1992) 93–113.

[50] See an example of this phenomenon of intertwined local and international meaning in Crum R.J., "Donatello's Bronze *David* and the Question of Foreign Versus Domestic Tyranny", *Renaissance Studies* 10 (1996) 440–450.

and growing larger as the fifteenth century progressed. The most celebrated example of this came with the Pazzi Conspiracy of 1478 that resulted in the murder of Giuliano de' Medici and the near murder of his brother Lorenzo.[51] That conspiracy involved the alignment of forces both local and international (the Pazzi and the Papacy), and its visual remembrance by the Medici in the form of the famous Pazzi Conspiracy medal is itself a document in bronze of the inseparability and, sometimes, nearly disastrous consequences of the local and international dynamic in Medici politics that was so publicly and triumphantly put on display decades earlier in the consecration of Santa Maria del Fiore.[52]

Ultimately the tensions with and objections to the supposed 'tyranny' of the Medici that erupted to the surface in the Pazzi Conspiracy would come to a head in the early 1490s and, increasingly, toward the fall of 1494 when the Medici were expelled from Florence for the second time in the fifteenth century.[53] Soon after the expulsion, the Florentine Signoria confiscated the Medici Palace and in the next year transferred key works of art from that palace to the public Palazzo della Signoria.[54] Among these were Donatello's *David* and *Judith and Holofernes* from the courtyard and garden, Antonio Pollaiuolo's three canvases of the *Labors of Hercules* from the Sala Grande, and Filippo Lippi's *Adoration of the Child* from the palace chapel. These were all works that in one manner or another had been employed by the Medici to appropriate unto themselves and their regime central iconographies of Florentine republicanism. Their confiscation by the central government, however, took place in an era that was dominated and, to a large extent, propelled by the fiery rhetoric of Fra Girolamo Savonarola sermons in the cathedral itself from a pulpit not too distant from the high altar where in 1436, under very different circumstances, Eugenius IV had consecrated the church. In calling upon the Florentines to repent their sins and reform their ways, in precipitating the sentiments that

[51] For the Pazzi Conspiracy, see Martines L., *April Blood: Florence and the Plot Against the Medici* (Oxford – New York: 2003).
[52] For the Pazzi Conspiracy medal, see Draper J.D., *Bertoldo di Giovanni, Sculptor of the Medici Household* (Columbia – London: 1992) 86–95.
[53] On the expulsion of the Medici, see Rubinstein, *The Government of Florence* 264–271.
[54] For the confiscations of materials from the Medici Palace, see most recently Musacchio J.M., *Art, Marriage, and the Family in the Florentine Renaissance* (New Haven: 2008).

led to the expulsion of the Medici and the confiscation of their very Florentine goods, Savonarola famously drew upon an old tradition of identifying the destiny of Florence – internationally and universally – as that of a New Jerusalem.[55] Interestingly, that was the same theme that ran, indirectly, through Guillaume Dufay's *Nuper rosarum flores* that was commissioned for and performed during the consecration of the cathedral.[56] The convergence local and the global that was so very much at the center of the consecration of the cathedral at the dawn of the Medici regime was there again at the end of that historic era.

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[55] Weinstein D., *Savonarola and Florence: Prophecy and Patriotism in the Renaissance* (Princeton: 1970) 138–158. See also ibidem 62, note 88 for a possible reference to Eugenius IV's earlier residence in Florence in prophetic poem of the early 1490s that celebrates the promise of Florence as it approached the year 1500 and the new millennium.

[56] See Trachtenberg, "Architecture and Music" 757–773.

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ESTABLISHING INDEPENDENCE: LEONARDO BRUNI'S *HISTORY OF THE FLORENTINE PEOPLE* AND RITUAL IN FIFTEENTH-CENTURY FLORENCE

Brian Jeffrey Maxson*

In late medieval and Renaissance Europe, history and ritual intersected to create and legitimize new foundation stories for old cities. During the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, a city's foundation story explained where that city fit into the broader world of European politics, particularly in relation to the Emperor and the Papacy. Moreover, these foundation stories legitimized governments and their territorial claims by explaining from where a city derived the authority to exist, make laws, and rule others.

Fourteenth and fifteenth-century historians refashioned these historical foundations and subsequent narratives to fit the changing needs of the present. Revising history created consistency between a city's present policies and alliances and its past actions. However, rewriting history also inevitably created contradictions with older stories and challenged any political or legal claims based on them. Centuries before the establishment of scientific principles for the evaluation of historical arguments, fifteenth-century historians and their governors were virtually powerless to establish the legitimacy of new historical narratives in the face of opposing textual or political claims. Therefore, cities turned to ritual to establish their latest version of the past as more accurate than all others. As it did for countless other objects, ritual established the legitimacy of the historical narratives that cities couched into binding ritual moments. This article argues these points using a case study of the Florentine humanist Leonardo Bruni's presentation of his *History of the Florentine People* to the Florentine government in 1428 and 1439.[1]

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[1] A handful of scholars have made cursory comments on these presentations without exploring their significance further. See Wilcox D.J., *The Development of Florentine*

Florentines traditionally used ritual and history to grant legitimacy to their city and its republican government. As Richard Trexler has argued, by the late fourteenth century the lack of a regal figure in the city's government created a void in the political and social order of the city. Regal figures legitimized governments and the agreements that they and their citizens made. Without such a figure, Renaissance Florentines could not make honorable agreements between themselves or with outsiders. Thus, they turned to public rituals to create a means to do so. Rituals provided a substitute for the legitimizing presence of regal figure in the city. In doing so, rituals established legitimacy for an illegitimate social order, honor for the system of patronage in the city, and trust for a distrustful city of merchants.[2] In short, public ritual provided Florentines with a forum to create binding agreements. Rituals bound their participants to the focus of the ritualized action and guaranteed that these bonds were sincere, legitimate, trustworthy, and honorable. While cities needed ritual to make such agreements, they could not do so in the absence of a legitimating regal presence.

The Florentines also used history to deal with this problem. Traditionally, the chronicles of Florentine history had tied their origins to foreign princes. Like rituals, these historical links offered the legitimacy that the growing Florentine Republic lacked. In fact, even from the city's earliest extant chronicles, the Florentines traced their origins to the first Roman Emperor Julius Caesar.[3] With this foundation story, they placed themselves under the theoretical power of the Holy Roman Empire, the rulers of which claimed to be descendants of the old Roman Empire. From the early fourteenth century, the city had added Charlemagne as a second founder to its historical narrative. Starting with the *Chronicle* of Giovanni Villani in the fourteenth

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Humanist Historiography in the Fifteenth Century (Cambridge, Mass.: 1969) 3–5; Hankins J., "Notes on the Composition and Textual Tradition of Leonardo Bruni's *Historiarum Florentini populi libri XII*", in Coulson F.T. – Grotans A.A. (eds.), *Classica Beneventana: Essays Presented to Virginia Brown on the Occasion of her 65th Birthday* (Turnhout: 2008) 100; Zaccaria R.M., "Il Bruni cancelliere e le istituzioni della Repubblica", in Viti P. (ed.), *Leonardo Bruni Cancelliere della Repubblica* (Florence: 1987) 112–113; Viti P., "Leonardo Bruni e il Concilio del 1439", in Viti P. (ed.), *Firenze e il Concilio del 1439* (Florence: 1994) 572–573.

[2] Trexler R.C., *Public Life in Renaissance Florence* (Ithaca: 1980) 9–43, esp. 19 and 43.

[3] Rubinstein N., "The Beginnings of Political Thought in Florence: A Study in Mediaeval Historiography", in Ciappelli G. (ed.), *Studies in Italian History in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance* (Rome: 2004) 5–6.

century, Florence claimed that Charlemagne had refounded their city after its destruction at the hands of barbarians in the fifth century.[4] Such illustrious progenitors were a source of pride for the middling Florentine commune during the medieval period.[5] Moreover, these foundation stories provided the city with an identity for itself both within and outside its walls. Early stories of the foundation of Florence had given the city a place among its closest geographical neighbors, particularly Fiesole.[6] Later changes to the Florentine story of the city's origins tended to explain the internal struggles between the Guelfs and Ghibillines in Florence, that dominated the city's affairs of the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries.[7] In such stories, the city changed from a rich Italian city that lacked a legitimizing regal figure into the close associate of the greatest ancestors of the most illustrious princes in Europe.

However, political changes in the city during the late fourteenth and fifteenth centuries made the city's old stories about its origins obsolete. After the War of Eight Saints against the Papacy (1375–1378), the city no longer saw itself tied to the factional causes that had dominated the city's history for well over a century. Shortly after, the Florentine conquest of the port city of Pisa dramatically increased the city's sphere of influence on the Italian stage.[8] Such developments meant that the city's old narrative of its foundation no longer suited Florentine political interests, nor did it offer legitimacy to their republican government and its expanding territories. As a growing power in its own right, Florence needed a foundation story that freed it from its foreign overlords without losing the advantages of legitimacy and prominence that these old stories had brought with them.

The city's then unofficial history, the *Chronicle* of Giovanni Villani was not up to the task. Villani's work told the old story about the city's foundation. Even worse, it told the story in the vernacular, the language of light literary works, poetry, and mercantile exchanges. The growing prominence of humanism in the Florentine patriciate made Latin and classical works like Livy a far more appropriate forum to offer a new

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[4] Ibidem, 22–23.

[5] Ibidem, 14.

[6] Ibidem, 8–12.

[7] Ibidem, 26–33.

[8] Fubini R., "Note preliminari sugli 'Historiarum Florentini Populi Libri XII' di Leonardo Bruni", in *Storiografia dell'umanesimo in Italia da Leonardo Bruni ad Annio da Viterbo* (Rome: 2003) 93–130, esp. 102.

foundation for their city. In fact, compared to a true Latin history of the Republic, Villani's *Chronicle* was little more than source material.[9] Thus, the city turned to ritual and a Latin history to create a new foundation story for the city, establish the truth of its narrative, and add symbolic legitimacy to the Florentine republican government.

Leonardo Bruni's *History of the Florentine People* presented an historical origin and narrative that gave both theoretical independence and legitimacy to the Florentine Republic. Leonardo Bruni was the leading humanist in Italy during the first half of the fifteenth century and Chancellor, that is head secretary, of Florence from 1427 until his death in 1444. Starting in 1415, Bruni began to write a Latin history of Florence, in which he famously overturned the traditional story of the city's foundation under Julius Caesar. Instead, Bruni attributed the foundation of Florence to veterans under Sulla during the late Roman Republic.[10] Thus the work presented a new foundation story that emphasized the ancestral link between Florence and the Roman Republic rather than between Florence and the Roman Emperors and their descendents. This historical move had great significance. First, the narrative debunked the claim of all descendants of the Roman Emperor, particularly the Holy Roman Emperor and the House of Anjou in France, to be overlords of Florence in the present, for Florence was and had always been an independent republic. Second, by establishing the city's independence, the narrative established the legitimacy of the city's growing political power and territorial conquests in the first half of the fifteenth century. As a city founded during the Republic, Florence inherited the territorial claims of the Ancient Romans. Therefore, Florence was simply recovering territory lost over the course of the centuries when expanding its territory.[11]

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[9] Cabrini A.M., "Le 'Historiae' del Bruni: risultati e ipotesi di una ricerca sulle fonti", in Viti P. (ed.), *Leonardo Bruni Cancelliere della Repubblica di Firenze* (Firenze: 1987) 275–276; cf. Ianziti G., "Bruni on Writing History", *Renaissance Quarterly* 51,2 (1998) 369.

[10] Bruni L., *History of the Florentine People,* ed. and trsl. J. Hankins, 3 vols. (Cambridge, Mass.: 2001–2007) vol. I, 8–9. I have cited Hankins' translation throughout this article and omitted the original Latin to conserve space. Unless otherwise noted, all other translations are my own and the original language has been provided.

[11] Bruni made a similar claim over a decade earlier in his *Panegyric to the City of Florence.* In this earlier work, he argued that, as heir to the Roman Republic: 'Therefore, to you, also, men of Florence, belongs by hereditary right dominion over the entire world and possession of your parental legacy. From this it follows that all wars that are waged by the Florentine people are just, and this people can never lack justice

Bruni argued these points by establishing the supremacy of the territorial claims of the Roman Republic in antiquity and dismantling the historical claims of all major foreign powers to rule Florence. According to Bruni, the Roman Republic possessed the only legitimate claim to rule the lands once enclosed in the Roman Empire. The earliest rulers of Rome had been the Roman Kings, and their rule inarguably predated the Roman Republic. However, according to Bruni, the ancient Kings in Rome before the Republic '[…] never attained such wide domains as to merit the name of empire. The reality and name of empire emerged under the consuls and dictators and military tribunes, the magistrates of a free people'.[12] Therefore, the territorial conquests of the ancient Romans post-dated those of the Roman Kings. As such, heirs to the power of the Kings lacked a claim to these conquests.

Bruni's narrative implicitly argued that the Roman Emperors from Julius Caesar forward had removed the legal republican government in Rome, replacing it with an illegal tyranny. Subsequently, land claims based on descent from the Roman Emperors were not legitimate because they lacked an original legal foundation.[13] Bruni argued 'The Roman Empire was founded and perfected by the Roman People', a statement suggesting that the Roman Emperor oversaw a land mass already consolidated under the Republic.[14] Moreover, unlike the unchallenged claim of the Roman people, Bruni contended that the Emperors were 'legitimate' in name alone. He wrote that '[…] in reality, [the term *imperator*] signified lordship and domination. Surrounded by armed troops, the citizens were cowed into subservience'.[15] The Emperors imposed their authority on a free people and ruled them by force, rather than acceding to power lawfully and ruling benevolently. For Bruni, an illegal claim to rule and/or wicked rule formed the very definition of tyrannical rule.[16]

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in its wars since it necessarily wages war for the defense or recovery of its own territory'. Kohl B.G. – Witt R.G. (eds.), *The Early Republic: Italian Humanists on Government and Society* (Philadelphia: 1978) 150 (trsl. Benjamin Kohl). Cf. the Latin in *Leonardo Bruni Aretino: Histoire, éloquence et poésie à Florence au début du Quattrocento*, ed. and trsl. L. Bernard-Pradelle (Paris: 2008) 240.

12 Bruni, *History*, vol. I, 86–87.

13 Maxson B., "Kings and Tyrants: Leonardo Bruni's Translation of Xenophon's *Hiero*", *Renaissance Studies* 24, 2 (2010) 194–205.

14 Bruni, *History*, vol. I, 86–87.

15 Ibidem, vol. I, 88–89.

16 Maxson, "Kings and Tyrants" 196–198.

Not only were the Emperors in fact tyrants, but they also failed to significantly alter the land claims of the Roman Republic. Thus, implicitly, heirs of the Roman Republic possessed a claim to the same lands as potential heirs to the Roman Emperors; however, the claims of heirs to the Republic were older and based on a legal power. For example, Bruni contended that 'Germany and certain provinces were added to the empire by the Emperors, so the empire's external power was somewhat extended, but the strength of the empire at home was diminished by almost continuous assassinations and slaughter'.[17] Therefore, rather than expanding the power of the empire, the tyrannical emperors actually oversaw a diminishing of the power of the earlier Republic. Since the Kings had ruled a very small territory and the Emperors illegally usurped power over an already established state, the Roman Republic possessed the strongest claim to rule the lands of antiquity. As heir to the Roman Republic, Florence inherited this claim.

Next, Bruni rebutted the claims of other rulers in fifteenth-century Europe to be heirs to the territories of Rome and thus overlords of Florence. At that point, two rulers possessed claims to be heirs of Rome and overlords of Florence, namely the Holy Roman Emperor, who claimed Florence through the descent of his office to Julius Caesar and subsequent Roman Emperors, and the Angevins, whose claim rested on the crowning of Charlemagne as Emperor and his supposed refoundation of Florence in the ninth century. Bruni dismantled both claims in the first book of his *History* by questioning the continuity of the Angevins and the Emperor to their supposed illustrious Roman ancestors. In Bruni's narrative, since these rulers established their claims to rule long after the Roman Empire had ceased to exist, neither the Angevins nor the Emperor could lay claim to its territories, including Florence. According to Bruni, the Holy Roman Emperor was anything but a direct heir of the ancient Roman Emperors. He wrote that 'After Augustulus had been overthrown by Odoacer, as we have shown, no one, not even as an act of tyrannous usurpation, took up the name of Emperor in Italy and the West until Charlemagne, to whom, as we have said, Pope Leo gave the title'.[18] Bruni then reiterated his point. 'Between Augustulus and Charlemagne, then, the empire ceased to exist for almost three hundred years'.[19] In another passage,

[17] Bruni, *History*, vol. I, 88–89.
[18] Ibidem.
[19] Ibidem.

'[…] Charlemagne was crowned Emperor in Rome and restored the forgotten name and office of the empire'.[20] Finally, the insignia of Charlemagne's successors differed from previous possessors of the imperial office, further proof that the offices were not the same.[21] Bruni's arguments that the Roman Empire had ceased in the West during the fifth century denied the Holy Roman Emperors' claim to rule Northern Italy, particularly Florence, based on ancient inheritance. These rulers could not even claim descent from the tyrants that had ruled Northern Italy in the name of the Roman Empire after Augustulus.

Next, Bruni turned to disprove the claims of the Angevin descendants of Charlemagne. Famously, Bruni argued that Charlemagne had rebuilt the walls of Florence rather than refounded the city as the old chroniclers had claimed.[22] A restorer rather than rebuilder, Charlemagne and his descendants lost any claim to be the founders and thus theoretical overlords of Florence.[23] Yet Charlemagne was more than just a progenitor of the House of Anjou, he had also been crowned Roman Emperor. If Charlemagne were a legitimate heir to the imperial title, Charlemagne and his heirs could lay claim to the old land holdings of the Roman Empire. Bruni debunked this claim as well in his *History*, by questioning the legality of the papal crowning of Charlemagne. In fact, he explicitly stated that the process by which Charlemagne attained the imperial office was 'new' and 'lacked a legal basis'.[24] He then continued arguing that the power to elect their Emperor lay with the Roman People, rather than with the pope. Shortly after, Bruni backtracked from these statements and conceded authority to interpret such legal questions to canon lawyers.[25] Nevertheless, the doubt that Bruni had instilled about the legality of Charlemagne's crowning and any claims of his heirs based upon it remained.

For Bruni, the theoretical claims of the Holy Roman Emperors to rule Northern Italy and particularly Florence did not get any stronger after Charlemagne. In a short section about the Investiture Controversy, Bruni again claimed that the empire in Germany, '[…] began

20 Ibidem, vol. I, 90–91.
21 Ibidem.
22 Ibidem, vol. I, 94–97.
23 Fubini R., "Note" 108–109; Ianziti G., "Challenging Chronicles: Leonardo Bruni's *History of the Florentine People*", in Dale S. – Williams A.L. – Osheim D.J. (eds.), *Chronicling History: Chroniclers and Historians in Medieval and Renaissance Italy* (University Park, Penn.: 2007) 256–259.
24 Bruni, *History*, vol. I, 90–91.
25 Ibidem.

with Charlemagne'.[26] When describing the initial development of the Guelfs and Ghibillines, Bruni argued that the Holy Roman Emperor was a 'barbarian', a 'foreigner', and a 'German'. The claims of the Emperors in Germany to be descendants of the Roman Emperors were a 'pretext'.[27] He wrote that Frederick II was '[...] deposed by the Council of Lyons and deprived of both his imperial and royal powers'.[28] Not only had the council deposed him, but Frederick also had failed to receive reinstatement to his imperial title and power.[29] Without a legal basis, Frederick attempted to create a claim in Tuscany for himself and his heirs. According to Bruni, Frederick possessed a claim to rule Southern Italy through his mother. Not content with these lands, he eyed the cities to the north and attempted to seize them to create kingdoms for his numerous sons.[30] His failure to do so meant that Florence remained what it had been since its foundation during the Roman Republic: a city whose liberty ultimately rested with the Roman People and was based on its descent from the Roman Republic.[31] The Holy Roman Emperor, by contrast, was at best the descendant of tyrants and more likely a ruler whose office was no older than the ninth century. Either way, neither he nor the Angevin descendants of Charlemagne could stake an historical claim to rule Florence.

Bruni's historical arguments were developed in a political environment full of competing claims. The issue of the theoretical supremacy of the Emperor continued to have direct relevance in the making of Florentine foreign policy at least up to the years directly preceding Bruni's writing of the first book of his *History*. In these years, the issue of Florentine independence surfaced in diplomatic affairs. In 1401, the members of the Florentine *Signoria* described the Emperor as their 'natural lord,' whom 'it is our duty to obey'.[32] In 1412 and 1413, the Emperor was heavily involved in the politics of the Italian peninsula. In 1412, the Emperor had declared to his electors that 'the whole of Italy, which by rights should be the centre of imperial power, was

[26] Ibidem, vol. I, 100–101.
[27] Ibidem, vol. I, 100–103.
[28] Ibidem, vol. I, 102–103.
[29] Ibidem, vol. I, 104–105.
[30] Ibidem.
[31] Ibidem, vol. I, 106–107.
[32] Brown A., "The Language of Empire", in Connell W.J. – Zorzi A. (eds.), *Florentine Tuscany: Structures and Practices of Power* (Cambridge: 2000) 40. The *Signoria* was the collective term for the individuals in the offices that served as governors of Florence.

under the unlawful rule of others'.[33] In 1414, a controversial peace was drawn between Naples and Florence: the contract contained a clause in which Florence could be asked to wage war against the Holy Roman Emperor.[34] The Florentine patrician and jurist Filippo Corsini argued that this clause was immoral because the Emperor was Florence's sovereign.[35] As late as the 1490s, in fact, diplomats from the Emperor traveled to Florence to remind its inhabitants of their imperial origins and of the subordination they owed to the Emperor.[36]

Meanwhile, Florence was aggressively asserting itself as an independent territorial state from the late fourteenth century. The Florentines had traditionally relied upon notaries in their chancery because they alone possessed the legal authority from the Emperor to authenticate documents. Starting in the mid fourteenth century, the Florentines began to appoint individuals who were not notaries in the chancery. These individuals relied upon their status as servants of the independent Florentine state for credibility. The humanist and Florentine chancellor Bartolomeo Scala continued contributing to this shift in the latter fifteenth century.[37] Riccardo Fubini has outlined the ways in which institutional changes in the Florentine government and shifts in the language in their documents during the late fourteenth and fifteenth centuries fit into this broader trend. As he has convincingly argued, such changes also contributed to the theoretical independence

[33] Rubinstein N., "The Place of Empire in Fifteenth-Century Florentine Political Opinion and Diplomacy", *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research* 30 (1997) 132.

[34] Brucker G., *The Civic World of Early Renaissance Florence* (Princeton: 1977) 385–392. See also da Vespasiano Da Bisticci, *Renaissance Princes, Popes, and Prelates,* trsl. and ed. W. George – E. Waters (New York: 1963) 247–250.

[35] Brucker, *The Civic World* 389.

[36] Florence, Archivio di Stato di Firenze, Signori, Risposte Verbali di Oratori, 2, fols. 122r–123r.

[37] These are arguments of Riccardo Fubini and Alison Brown that are summarized in Black R., "Machiavelli, Servant of the Florentine Republic", in Bock G. – Skinner Q. – Viroli M. (eds.), *Machiavelli and Republicanism* (Cambridge: 1990) 81–83. Black provides further references to the original contexts of these arguments. Black disagrees with the opinions of these two scholars, arguing that the Florentines began issuing their own laws without imperial approval as early as the mid fourteenth century. I think that Black is correct that fifteenth-century developments did not mark a practical legal or constitutional break with the past. Nevertheless, the appointment of individuals who were not notaries to the chancery after 1427 was innovative in that it formalized a practice begun decades earlier, a point which Black does not contest. Moreover, this symbolic formalization fit into the same context as the other developments discussed in this article aimed at establishing Florentine independence.

of the new Florentine state.[38] Moreover, for Fubini, the content of Bruni's *History* played a crucial role in the development of Florence from a medieval commune (which was theoretically subordinate to foreign powers), to an independent territorial state (which was subordinate to no one), by establishing a narrative of the Florentine past that stressed its independence from foreign powers.[39]

The Florentines turned to ritual to add weight to both the arguments of Bruni's *History* and legitimacy to the political ambitions of their independent state. The first occasion was a ritual commemorating peace in 1428. After nearly five years of war, Florence made peace with the Duke of Milan.[40] Unlike the previous peace with Milan of 1426, the peace of 1428 seemed to be able to end hostilities between the two states.[41] On 16 May, a public ritual marked the official announcement of the peace. A procession of the sacred icon of Our Lady of Santa Maria Impruneta wound its way through the city before pausing in front of the government palace. There, the chancellor of Florence, Leonardo Bruni, delivered a short vernacular statement declaring the peace.[42] After his short statement, 'at the said hour, on the *ringhiera,* on the said day, the said *Messer* Leonardo gave a book of his works to the *Signoria* and gave a short oration, then horns and flutes played and the procession began to move forward'.[43] The volume almost certainly contained the first six books of Bruni's *History of the Florentine People.*[44]

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[38] Fubini R., "La rivendicazione di Firenze della sovranità statale e il contributo delle 'Historiae' di Leonardo Bruni", in *Storiografia dell'umanesimo in Italia da Leonardo Bruni ad Annio da Viterbo* (Rome: 2003) 146ff.

[39] Fubini, "Note preliminari; Fubini, "La rivendicazione" 131–164.

[40] Pagolo di Pietro Petriboni – Matteo di Borgo Rinaldi, *Priorista (1407–1459) with Two Appendices (1282–1406),* ed. J. Gutwirth (Rome: 2001) 208; Lanza A., *Firenze contro Milano: Gli intellettuali fiorentini nelle guerre con i Visconti (1390–1440)* (Rome: 1991) 105–109.

[41] Lanza, *Firenze contro Milano* 109.

[42] Ibidem, 210–211.

[43] Ibidem, 211: 'Detta hora, in sulla ringhiera, detto dì, misser Lionardo detto donò a' Signiori uno libro dell'opere sue et fecie una diceria, et poi sonarono le trombe et pifferi, et incominciò a passare la processione'. The *ringhiera* was a raised platform in Florence used for making proclamations and greeting foreign leaders.

[44] Hankins, "Notes" 91, 100. Hankins has convincingly refuted the hypothesis of Paolo Viti that the work presented was Bruni's *Oration for the Funeral of Nanni Strozzi.* See Hankins J., "The 'Baron Thesis' after Forty Years and some Recent Studies of Leonardo Bruni", *Journal of the History of Ideas* 56,2 (1995) 334–336. Cf. Hankins J. "Unknown and Little-Known Texts of Leonardo Bruni", in *Humanism and Platonism*

Bruni's presentation of his *History* in 1428 established a bond of trust between the Florentine government and Bruni's work. In a ritual commemorating peace, typically a person arrived in Florence and announced that ambassadors had reached a peace agreement. The Florentines often issued their official pronouncement of peace much later, sometimes even longer than the month delay in 1428.[45] The official pronouncement began the ritual proceedings. Oftentimes, ostentatious celebrations immediately followed the pronouncement of the peace, including fireworks and celebratory fires. These displays were followed by processions of clerics and laypeople through the city, which could stretch from one to three days. The clerics and laypeople wound their way through the streets of Florence often carrying the panel of Our Lady of Santa Maria Impruneta.[46] The presence of this panel , the city's most powerful and important divine aid, served as both an intermediary between the Florentines and the Divine as well as a witness to the ritual itself.

The procession paused in the *Piazza della Signoria,* the space in which the moments of the highest ritual tension in many Florentine public rituals occurred. For example, on this *Piazza*, the *Signoria* greeted important foreign rulers and diplomats and exchanged symbolic gifts. The distance at which visitors dismounted and at which the *Signoria* moved forward to greet them served as an initial gift exchange between the two parties. The foreign visitor offered his or her gift of esteem by dismounting further from the presence of the *Signoria.* The Florentine *Signoria* reciprocated this gesture by walking out to meet their guest.[47] The ritual transfer of command of the Florentine army to a mercenary captain occurred also in the *Piazza*. Under the protective armor of ritual, the Florentines temporarily entrusted their well-being to a mercenary captain.[48] In rituals solemnizing peace agreements, the procession paused in the *Piazza della Signoria* where the *Signoria*

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in the Italian Renaissance, 2 vols. (Rome: 2003), vol. I, 22; Viti P., *Leonardo Bruni e Firenze* (Rome: 1992) 395–401.

[45] Petriboni – Rinaldi, *Priorista* 208–211. Florentine ambassadors made peace with Milan on 18 April 1428. The news reached Florence on 20 April. The official proclamation of the peace did not occur until 16 May.

[46] Trexler, *Public Life* 283–284.

[47] For the importance of distances in greeting foreigners in the *Piazza,* see Ibidem, 315–318. The interpretation of these distances through the lens of a gift exchange is part of my current book-length project on the practical role of humanism in fifteenth-century Florentine politics and society.

[48] Ibidem, 502–504.

observed it. While the procession waited, a member of the *Signoria* or the Chancellor of the Republic gave a short oration in the vernacular that announced the peace and sometimes read the capitals of the treaty itself.[49] In the presence of God, their most powerful icon, their most powerful government magistracy, and the community itself, the Florentines announced the object of the ritual, that is, the peace to which the ritual formally bound them to obey.

Bruni handed over his *History* at the most powerful temporal moment of this ritual, in the most powerful space, and in the presence of the city's most powerful living and symbolic witnesses. In 1428, the procession in the peace ritual paused as usual in the *Piazza della Signoria.* As the procession paused, the the ritualized moment began. As Chancellor, Leonardo Bruni delivered a short vernacular statement declaring the terms of the peace. Bruni then also handed over the first six books of his *History of the Florentine People.* Only then, the horns sounded, thus officially ending the key ritual moment, and the procession recommenced its journey through the streets of Florence. Therefore, just as the ritual bound the Florentines to the peace, the transfer of the book at this moment and in this space bound the Florentines to Bruni's *History*. Before the eyes of God and the community, a relationship of trust had been established between the Florentines and Bruni's book. Through the ritual, the Florentines established a version of the past that the state endorsed as official, or in other words, that the state endorsed as the true Florentine history. In the Florentine version of historical truth, their city traced its origins, not to the Emperor or a subsequent overlord, but rather to the Roman People, whose dramatic expression of power predated the Roman Emperors. Just as ritual in Florence made up for the lack of regal figure in the city, the *History of the Florentine People* proclaimed the legitimacy and power of their city by granting it an independent and powerful classical ancestor that shared their governmental form. Similarly, this power and legitimacy reinforced both the power of the city to make peace with Milan and the reliability of its commitment to the peace.

Bruni chose another significant day for the presentation of three more books of the *History*. On 6 February 1439, he presented books

[49] Ibidem, 284. Trexler avoids stating who exactly read the peace capitals; however, the example of 1428 suggests that the Chancellor or possibly a member of the *Signoria* was the most likely candidate.

six through nine to the Florentine government during the festivities of the Council of Florence held that month.[50] The Pope had arrived on 27 January. The Patriarch of Constantinople entered six days later on 12 February. Three days later, the Byzantine Emperor arrived.[51] A Florentine chronicle stated that Bruni spoke at the gate of San Gallo on that day, but does not mention the book presentation of a week earlier.[52] However, an inventory of the *Signoria* records that Bruni 'gave and presented' ('*donò et presentò*') three books of the *History* to the *Signoria* at some point during these festivities. Unfortunately, the brief description is silent regarding the rituals surrounding the presentation.[53]

Despite the lack of documentation concerning the rituals involved in the presentation, the events in 1439 allow for several plausible conclusions. First, the Florentine *Signoria* clearly appreciated the presentation of the *History*, for one day after the presentation the *Signoria* extended Bruni's rare tax exemption to his descendants, a clear reward for Bruni's work on the *History*.[54] Second, the *Signoria* desired Bruni to present the books during the festivities marking the entrance of the leaders of the Church from the east and west for the Council of Florence. James Hankins has located the presentation copy of 1439 in the Laurenzian Library in Florence. According to Hankins, the manuscript shows signs of having been copied in haste, with no less than three copyists working on the manuscript, presumably at the same time. As Hankins rightly concludes, preparing the copy in time for the festivities surrounding the Council of Florence most logically explains this haste.[55]

Finally, the occasion in 1439 in which Bruni presented his *History* differed from the ritualized occasion in 1428 when Bruni first presented parts of his work. This difference suggests some particulars

[50] Hankins, "Notes" 108. Ambrogio Traversari hints at another formal presentation in January of 1424; however, no record of the date, particulars, or whether a formal presentation actually occurred in that month has to my knowledge been discovered. Ibidem, 90.

[51] Hankins, "Notes" 108.

[52] Petriboni – Rinaldi, *Priorista* 286.

[53] Hankins, "Notes" 108.

[54] Santini, "Leonardo Bruni e i suoi *Historiarum florentini populi libri XII*", *Annali della R. Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa* 22 (1910) 139.

[55] Hankins, "Notes" 100. However, Hankins and I diverge in our assessment of who was the driving force behind this haste, with Hankins suggesting more of a personal motive on Bruni's part.

regarding the relationship between Bruni's *History* and the function of its presentation during prominent public rituals. On the one hand, the significance of ritual for the historical narrative of Bruni's work lie more in the general function of ritualized action in Florence than in the specifics of either the entrance rituals of 1439 or the peace ritual of 1428. Although they differed in their exact script and function, public rituals in Florence generally established trust and sincerity between the government and the object of the ritualized action. Therefore, the ritual presentation established a pseudo-official quality for Bruni's narrative by creating such a bond between the Florentine government and the *History*. On the other hand, the presentation of the *History* granted legitimacy to the rituals in which it was involved. In 1428, the work established that Florence was an independent city with the power to make war and peace of its own accord. It is certainly not coincidental that the city's symbolic declaration of independence, embodied in the presentation of Bruni's work to the government, occurred at the same moment of the ritual as the official pronouncement of the peace. In 1439, the presence of the work made Florence a city worthy of hosting an ecumenical conference of the Latin and Greek churches. The Florentines used these highly charged political occasions to reinforce their new historical foundation and the legitimacy that it offered their political actions.

A key message of Bruni's history presented to the *Signoria* concerned the relationship between Florentine independence in the *History* and the legitimacy that this independence offered. The books stressed time and again that the Florentines had occasionally lost their liberty to foreign princes, but had always gained it back. The strongest statements of these claims occur near the beginning or end of the blocks of books that he presented to the *Signoria* in rituals. The books presented in 1428 begin with the claim that the city traced its origins to the Roman Republic. This block of books ends in book six, where Bruni claimed that the Duke of Athens abdicated all rights to rule Florence and thus Florentine liberty was restored.[56] The books presented in 1439 begin with the word *Libera*, 'free'.[57] Bruni set up the Florentine wars with Milan at the end of Book Nine. In the process of his staging, he included that the Florentines had rejected an offer

[56] Bruni, *History*, vol. II, 280–281.
[57] Ibidem, vol. II, 284–285.

from the King of France for protection from the Duke of Milan. The French had demanded tribute and recognition of the Pope of Avignon in exchange for French aid.[58] Bruni attributed the Florentine rejection of his offer to their loyalty to the Pope and their fear that such an agreement would be a 'diminution of their liberty'.[59]

The Florentine *Signoria* reinforced the ritual bond between themselves and Bruni's *History* through their subsequent treatment of the work. Nicolai Rubinstein has pointed out that the *Signoria* housed the *History* in the chapel of their audience chamber.[60] Emilio Santini delved into the number of manuscripts owned by the Florentine government.[61] Riccardo Fubini has convincingly, albeit briefly, argued that the Florentines symbolized their independence by placing Bruni's texts with other books precious to the city in their governmental palace.[62] In fact, the *Signoria* kept the *History* within the chapel in their audience chamber, along with the ancient copy of the *Pandects* (acquired after the conquest of Pisa), the papal bull announcing the reunion of the Greek and Latin churches, and their Greek copy of the Gospels.[63] Safe in the *inner sanctum* of the government palace, these works witnessed the city's most powerful citizens as they beseeched divine aid and mercy, granting a symbolic legal, historical, and religious legitimacy for their pleas. The works and the independence that they represented were simultaneously protected by their religious surroundings,

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[58] Ibidem, vol. III, 98–101.

[59] Ibidem, vol. III, 100–101.

[60] Rubinstein N., *The Palazzo Vecchio 1298–1532: Government, Architecture, and Imagery in the Civic Palace of the Florentine Republic* (Oxford: 1995) 105–106. Hankins, "Notes" 108–109; Fubini, "La Rivendicazione" 159–160.

[61] Bruni L., *Historiarum florentini populi libri XII e Rerum suo tempore gestarum commentarius*, ed. E. Santini – C. di Pierro, in Muratori L.A. – Garducci G. – Fiorini V. (eds.), *Raccolta degli storici italiani dal cinquecento al millecinquecento* 19, part 3 (Città di Castello: 1926) XVIII–XXIII.

[62] Fubini, "La rivendicazione" 159–160.

[63] Rubinstein, *The Palazzo* 105–106. Rubinstein only documents the *History* in the chapel from the late 1450s. Archival evidence points to its presence in the *Palazzo Vecchio* from the 1430s. See Hankins, "Notes" 108–9. I found what I originally thought was a previously undiscovered account of the loaning of one of the *Signoria's* copies of Bruni's *History* out to Florentine patricians between 1446–1450 at Signori e Collegi, Giornali delle deliberazioni in forze di speciale autorità, 7bis, fols. 192r–192v, in the Archivio di Stato in Florence. However, Donald Wilcox also cites this document, see Wilcox, *The Development* 8. Wilcox cites it at its old shelf mark (Carte di Corredo, 39, c. 192). The document has been moved to its present location in the Signori e Collegi, Giornali.

complete with an altarpiece from Pope Martin V and a chest bearing the arms of Pope Eugenius IV.[64]

The Florentines complemented the ritual bonds between their city and Bruni's *History*, paying for the work by granting Bruni and his legitimate male heirs a rare tax exemption. The *Signoria* had asked Bruni to find a translator for the work in 1442, but Bruni died that year. The task would be completed by humanist and statesman Donato Acciaiuoli by 1473, who published it in 1476.[65] Acciaiuoli explicitly stated in his preface that he was undertaking the translation to '[...] obey your excellent *Signoria* and satisfy your just and honest desires as much as the faculty of my learning allows'.[66] A translation paid for by the *Signoria* was clearly an attempt to make the content of the work more accessible to interested citizens in Florence and abroad, most of whom lacked the ability to easily read humanist Latin.

Bruni's funeral and his funerary monument also reinforced the ritual connection between the Florentine state and Bruni's *History*. In 1444, Bruni was buried in the church of Santa Croce with a state-funded public funeral. Although Bruni had requested a simple tomb in his will, the Florentine commune commissioned an elaborate funerary celebration and a costly funeral monument, both of which featured a volume of the *History of the Florentine People*. During the funeral, Bruni was crowned with a laurel wreath while he clutched a richly decorated copy of his *History* to his lifeless chest.[67] Commemorating Bruni's general eloquence and learning, the laurel crown took on

[64] Rubinstein, *The Palazzo* 104–105.

[65] Wilcox, *The Development* 4–5.

[66] The full passage of the quoted text is: 'Molte sono le cagioni, eccellentissimi Signori, che mi hanno indotto a tradurre di latino in volgare la *Istoria di Firenze* elegantissimamente composta da Leonardo Aretino. La prima e principale si è per ubbidire alla vostra eccelsa Signoria, e, quanto potrà la facoltà del mio ingegno, satisfare a' vostri giusti ed onesti desideri'. Bruni L., *Istoria fiorentina,* trsl. D. Acciaiuoli (Florence: 1861) 1. cf. Wilcox, *The Development* 4. On this translation in general, see Rossella B., "Un traduttore al lavoro: Donato Acciaiuoli e l'elaborazione del volgarizzamento delle 'Historiae'", in Viti P. (ed.), *Leonardo Bruni Cancelliere della Repubblica di Firenze* (Florence: 1990) 321–338.

[67] Schulz A.M., *The Sculpture of Bernardo Rossellino and his Workshop* (Princeton: 1977) 32. See also Martines L., *The Social World of the Florentine Humanists 1390–1460* (Princeton: 1963) 241–242; Rubin P.L., *Images and Identity in Fifteenth-Century Florence* (New Haven: 2007) 35–36 and 314; Strocchia S., *Death and Ritual in Renaissance Florence* (Baltimore: 1992) 156–161; Griffiths G. – Hankins J. – Thompson D. (eds.), *The Humanism of Leonardo Bruni* (Binghamton, N.Y.: 1987) 43.

particular significance in relation to the physical presence of a copy of the *History*.[68]

In Bruni's tomb commissioned by the *Signoria*, Bernardo Rossellino sculpted a likeness of Bruni clutching an unmarked manuscript. The book lacks markings for identification, but fifteenth-century Florentines seem to have thought the book was the *History of the Florentine People*.[69] At the center of the base of the tomb was a *marzocco,* a lion's head that served as a symbol of the Florentine state.[70] Bruni's eulogy on the tomb emphasized his historical learning and eloquence in general.[71] However, just as in Bruni's funeral, the presence of a volume of his *History* stressed that particular work as especially significant. The combination of the *marzocco,* the eulogy, and the sculpted book pinpointed and immortalized the connection between the city of Florence and Bruni's *History.*

The presentation of the *History of the Florentine People* in the rituals of 1428 and 1439 tied together Bruni's humanist history, Florentine ritual, and the development of Florence as a territorial state. In short, at the same time as the ritual solemnized Bruni's version of past events, Bruni's version of past events reinforced Florentine ritual by making the city's foundation the rival of any power in Europe. Therefore, humanism made the argument for Florentine independence, ritual made it true, and politics gave a reason for a new foundation for Florence. However, reality rarely meshed with the world of ritual. The peace that the Florentines solemnized before God in 1428 did not last: in 1429, the Florentines entered into a conflict with Lucca that drew

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68 Giannozzo Manetti, "Oratio funebris in solemni Leonardi historici, oratoris, ac poetae laureatione", in Bruni Leonardo, *Epistolarum libri VIII,* ed. Laurentius Mehus (Florence, 1741) LXXXIX–XC. Manetti's oration accompanied the crowning of Bruni with the laurel wreath. Schulz, *The Sculpture* 32. On Manetti's oration more generally, see Viti P., "Giannozzo Manetti e l'orazione funebre per Leonardo Bruni", in Baldassarri S.U. (ed.), *Dignitas et excellentia hominis* (Florence: 2008) 311–332.

69 Wilcox, *The Development* 1–2. Anne Schulz suggests that the book probably symbolized Bruni's dedication to learning more than was an historical reference to the copy of the *History* that lay on Bruni's chest during his funeral. Schulz, *The Sculpture* 35. While Schulz's assertion is possible, I think that the fact that some fifteenth-century viewers drew the connection between the sculpted book and the copy of the *History* in Bruni's funeral suggests that the sculpted book at the very least contained multiple symbolic values, one of which was an intended reference to the funeral.

70 Schulz, *The Sculpture* 34–37.

71 Janson H.W. "The Image of Man in Renaissance Art: From Donatello to Michelangelo", in O'Kelly B. (ed.), *The Renaissance Image of Man and the World* (n.p.: 1966) 98–99. cf. Schulz, *The Sculpture* 36.

Milan into new military engagements with Florence.[72] In 1439, Bruni's presentation fit into the entrance ceremonies for representatives of the Greek and Latin Churches to the Council of Florence. In July, the Eastern and Western Churches formally reconciled their differences. Shortly after, the Greeks repudiated the agreement.[73] Likewise, the Florentine government as well as individual Florentine writers continued to tell stories that contradicted Bruni's historical narrative even after the rituals of 1428 and 1439.[74]

72 Najemy J., *A History of Florence, 1200–1575* (Malden, Mass.: 2006) 269–270.

73 On the Council of Florence, see Gill J., *The Council of Florence* (Cambridge: 1959) and Viti P. (ed.), *Firenze e il Concilio del 1439,* 2 vols. (Florence: 1994).

74 Fubini, "Note" 122–130.

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PIENZA: RELICS, RITUAL AND ARCHITECTURE IN THE CITY OF A RENAISSANCE POPE

Susan J. May*

The most enduring memorial to Pope Pius II (r. 1458–1464) is the small renaissance city of Pienza, transformed by him during his lifetime from its former incarnation as the rural village of his birth, Corsignano, and renamed to commemorate his own papal appellation. Pienza is renowned as an early example of renaissance town planning actually brought into existence and still extant today. Thus the fabric of the miniature city succeeds, as Pius intended, in keeping alive his name and that of the Piccolomini clan to which he belonged. This essay argues that the architectural heritage is but the material vestige of Pius's whole conception. As well as a memorial for posterity, the buildings and streets of Pienza – indeed the surrounding countryside too – provided the scenographic setting for the ultimate foundational act, the performance of religious ritual in time and space, lifted onto a cosmographical plane by the endowment of a sacred relic on the occasion of a holy feast day falling at the autumnal equinox.

Pienza is the subject of a vast literature, largely within the field of architectural history, not least since the restoration programme in 2005 to mark the 600th anniversary of its founder's birth. The present essay addresses Pius's choice of the feast of the Beheading of St John the Baptist for the dedication date and considers the impact on the city of Pius's donation of the mandible of the apostle Andrew. With the aid of Agostino Patrizi Piccolomini's *Pontificale Romanum*, it culminates in an evocation of the proceedings on the day of the dedication of its cathedral, 29 August 1462, which – it is argued – included a procession around the small city, to be regularly repeated into perpetuity,

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on each occasion of which Pienza's inhabitants were kinaesthetically reminded of the full scale of their benefactor's patronage.

The analysis that follows is grounded in the premise that Pius *thought* in terms of movement through space, whether through the interior of a building, through urban landscape or from region to region. This is clear from his autobiographical *I commentarii*, as exemplified in the passage in which Pius proudly describes his newly built *palazzo* in Pienza on his first visit following its construction [Fig. 1, Map 1]:

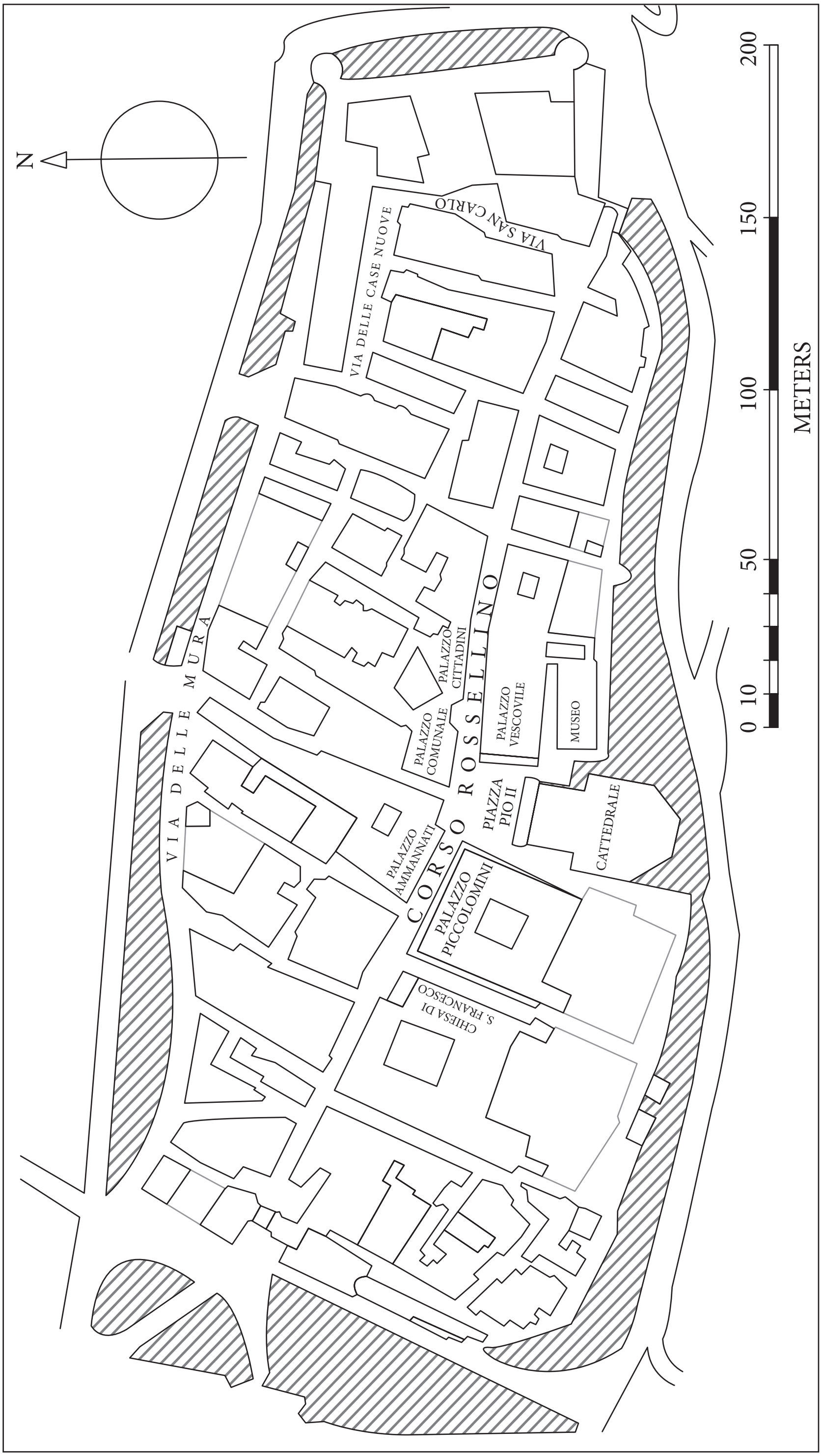
> As you enter the palace by the main door you face a large and lofty peristyle […] From the main door to the peristyle there extends a gleaming arched portico as long as the width of the dining rooms on each side. After passing through this and entering the peristyle, if you turn to the right you will find a staircase leading to the rooms on the second floor by some forty easy steps a foot high, two feet deep, and nine wide, each made of a single great stone. Twenty of the steps turn right and twenty left and there is a window at the turn to light both flights. At the top is a gallery, which on three sides looks down into the court through square windows divided by a stone cross. Its ceiling is skilfully constructed and decorated in various colors. As you follow it to the right you come to a square hall out of which open two splendid chambers, one of which gets the western sun and the other the north light as well […]. At the end of the gallery is a hall seventy-two feet wide and a third again as long with six doors. Two look into the gallery, two give access to the middle portico that looks toward Mount Amiata, and the others to two large and elaborate chambers.[1]

Pius writes in terms of passing through the light-filled internal spaces, looking forward, now to the left, now to the right, upwards toward the ceiling, down into the courtyard. This mode of topographical description – as if 'on the move' through physical space – was not unique to Pius: Giannozzo Manetti had employed it some years earlier in his account of Nicholas V's architectural projects.[2] More specifically, it is

[1] Pius II, "The Commentaries of Pius II", trsl. F.A. Gragg – L.C. Gabel, in *Smith College Studies in History*, 5 vols. (Northampton, MA: 1936–57), henceforth "Pius II"; here Pius II, *Commentaries*, Book IX, vol. 35 (1951) 598–599. For the Latin, see Pius II, *Pii II Commentarii rerum memorabilium que temporibus suis contigerunt*, ed. A. van Heck (Vatican City: 1984).

[2] *Iannotii Manetti de vita ac gestis Nicolai quinti summi pontificis* (1455), trsl. A. Modigliani (Rome: 2005). Drawing on a tradition of ekphrasis, Manetti's descriptions are significantly less detailed than those of Pius: indeed, at Manetti's time of writing many of the buildings that he described were still yet to be constructed or completed; Smith C. – O'Connor J.F., *Building the Kingdom: Giannozzo Manetti on the Material and Spiritual Edifice* (Tempe, AZ: 2006) 66–68.

Fig. 1. Bernardo Rossellino, Palazzo Piccolomini (east façade) and well (built 1459–1462), view from Piazza Pio II, Pienza (photo: author).



Map 1. Plan of Pienza. Reproduced from Enzo Carli, *Pienza: la città di Pio II* (Rome: 1967) (© Editalia S.p.A., Rome).

argued here that Pius conceived of the revamping of the small city in terms of its potential for processions, with vistas envisaged like a series of theatrical stage sets, culminating in a grand finale of sacred ritual under the gothic vaults of its new cathedral.

This theory is based partly on the grounds that the act of walking is the common factor between Pius's architectural projects. Grandiose though the buildings invariably are in their own right, his programmes are ultimately ignited by the act of processing through them.[3] Within weeks of his election to the pontifical throne in August 1458, Pius had set in motion his architectural plans for Siena, native city of the Piccolomini, from which his branch of the family had been exiled since 1368.[4] Initially conceived as part of a concerted programme to restore and secure dynastic prestige in Siena, it becomes clear that Pius soon, if not immediately, apprehended the potential for self-commemoration by combining architectural interventions with public celebration. In Rome, his *Loggia delle Benedizioni* at Saint Peter's, begun in 1461 though still unfinished at his death, was a triple-storied marble loggia from which on holy days the pope would dispense his blessing to the throng. This was, though, part of a much larger project for the reshaping of St Peter's Square that had begun the previous year, including the levelling of the piazza, reconstruction of a wider and more imposing set of steps and the erection of monumental statues, illustrated in an engraving of 1555 in which Pius's grand staircase is shown packed with visitors [Fig. 2].[5] Already a major site of pilgrimage, Pius orchestrated during Easter week of the year 1462 the arrival at St Peter's of the holy relic of St Andrew's head, the most important religious ceremony of his pontificate. An onlooker at the event records the huge procession, the decking out of the streets, the spectacle of lighted candles and great

[3] Also working from first-hand experience of walking through Pienza, Christine Smith independently arrived at a similar conclusion: that Pienza 'unfolds in a temporal sequence determined by the spectator's physical movement'; Smith C., *Architecture in the Culture of Early Humanism: Ethics, Aesthetics and Eloquence 1400–1470* (New York – Oxford: 1992) here 117.

[4] Nevola F., *Siena: Constructing the Renaissance City* (New Haven – London: 2007) 72–73.

[5] Roser H., "Pius II and the *Loggia delle Benedizioni* at St Peter's", in Di Paola R. – Antoniutti A. – Gallo M. (eds.), *Enea Silvio Piccolomini. Arte, storia e cultura nell'Europa di Pio II*, *Acts of the conference* (Rome: 2006) 447–458. Rubinstein R.O., "Pius II's Piazza S. Pietro and St. Andrew's Head", in Maffei D. (ed.), *Enea Silvio Piccolomini, Papa Pio II. Atti del Convegno per il quinto centenario della morte e altri scritti* (Siena: 1968) 221–244.

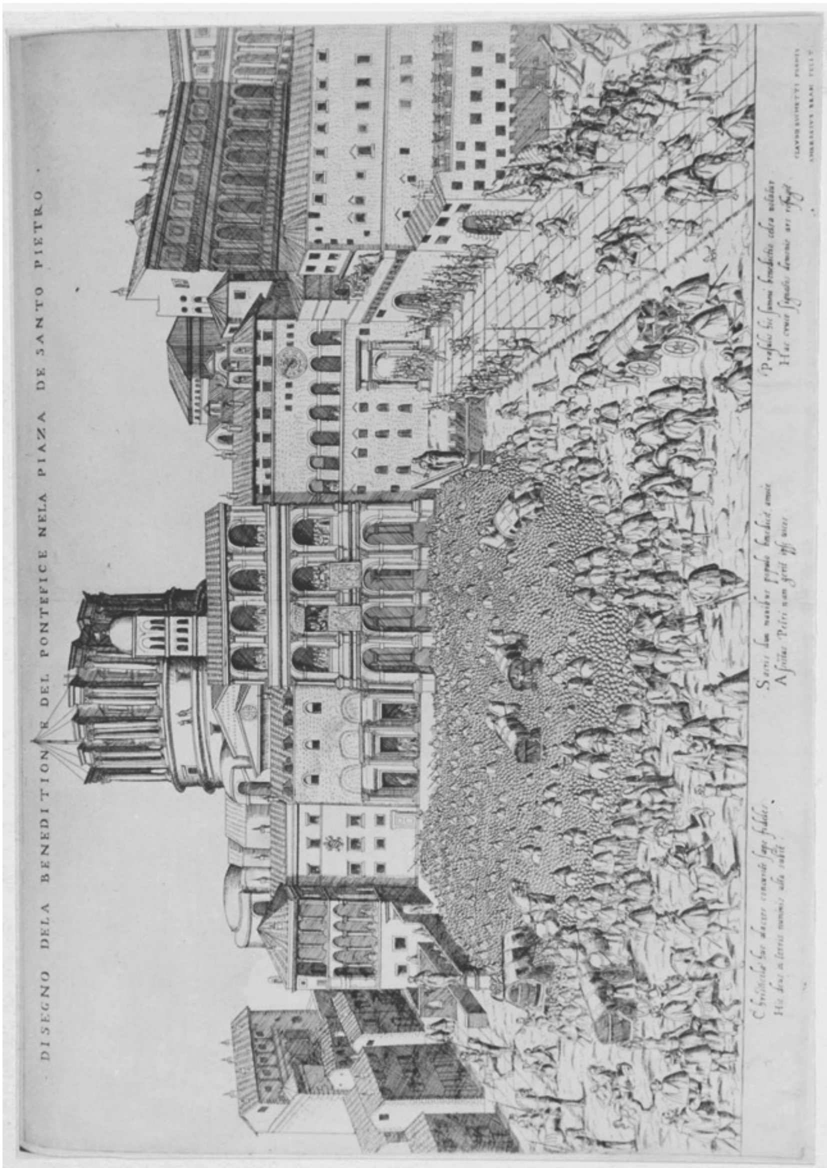


Fig. 2. View of Old St Peter's, Rome, showing Pius II's Loggia delle Benedizioni, 1461–c. 1513, and monumental staircase, built 1461–1463 (reproduced from A. Lafreri, *Speculum Romanae magnificentiae* [Rome: 1555] 3).

multitudes of people.[6] Pius insisted that for the two-mile procession through Rome, 'all should go on foot': those who 'were too old or ill […] were to walk as far as they thought they could, choosing the place from which they estimated that their feet would carry them to St Peter's'.[7] The import of the occasion was thus to be experienced as a panoramic spectacle unfolding with each new step.

On a smaller scale, the preparations for Easter week in Rome were repeated in Viterbo for the feast of *Corpus Domini*, to take place on 17 June of the same year. The ceremonial route from the Rocca of San Francesco to the Cathedral of San Lorenzo was cleared of unwanted obstructions at papal expense, as recorded by Pius himself:

> […] [the Pope] gave orders first of all that the street leading from the citadel through the city to the cathedral, which was cluttered with balconies and galleries and disfigured with wooden porticoes, should be cleared and restored to its original splendour. Everything that jutted out and obstructed the view of the next house was removed and everywhere the proper width of the street was restored. Whatever was removed was paid for from the public funds.[8]

Planning, in terms of clearing a processional route, as evidenced in Rome and Viterbo, was to be repeated in Siena from June 1463, where demolitions took place in preparation for 1 May 1464, when the pope and his entourage were to process through the streets to Siena Cathedral for the donation of the holy relic of the arm of St John the Baptist.[9] Falling chronologically between these, the early re-shaping of Pienza would logically have been subject to the same considerations.

Pius's general conception of the urban landscape as a series of vistas seen on the move stemmed from his early career as secretary to a number of prominent ecclesiastics and subsequently to the Holy Roman Emperor Frederick III, in all of whose service he travelled extensively through Italy and Europe, as far north as Scotland. Time and time again the young Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini witnessed – from within – grand

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[6] '[…] la Santità con le sue mani la portò a San Pietro con la magna processione e grandissimi trionfi e tutte le strade coperte e moltissimi lumi di cera e moltissima moltitudine di gente'; Paolo di Benedetto di Cola, Mastro dello Rione di Ponte, cited by Rubinstein, "Pius II's Piazza San Pietro" 235.

[7] Pius II, *Commentaries*, Book VIII, vol. 35 (1951) 531.

[8] Ibidem, 551.

[9] Nevola, *Siena* 62. The relic of the arm of St. John the Baptist was included in the consignment from Patras along with St Andrew's head; Orlando Malavolti, *Dell'historia di Siena* (Venice, Salvestro Marchetti: 1599) vol. III, fol. 68r–v.

entries amidst meandering processions of visiting dignitaries, the most exalted station of which he himself attained in 1458. Travelling as pope the following year on his journey from Rome to Mantua, he recorded that:

> All along his route the people poured out to greet him; the priests bearing holy relics offered prayers for his happiness as he passed; boys and girls wearing wreaths of laurel and carrying olive branches wished the great Bishop long life and felicity. Those who could touch the edge of his garments thought themselves blessed. Everywhere the road was thronged with people and strewn with fresh grasses; the houses of the towns and cities were carpeted with precious fabrics; the houses of the citizens and the churches of God were splendidly decorated.[10]

In Pius's description, the forward dynamic and consequent transitoriness of the world as visually experienced is almost cinematographic. In philosophical discourse, it was Pius's close and trusted friend, Cardinal Nicholas of Cusa, who encapsulated the idea that perception of the universe is relative to the place of the observer.[11] This puts onto a macrocosmic scale the core of fourteenth-century architectural thought, which was based on a dynamic conception of the beholder as a figure in motion. It is thus argued that Pius II conceived of Pienza, like his other architectural projects, in terms of visual experience during movement through space, a conception enhanced through his study of maps.

As a humanist scholar, it is not surprising to learn that Pius's book collection included a copy of Ptolemy's *Cosmographia*,[12] renaissance editions of which were accompanied by superb maps. In his own work of 1457, *Historia rerum ubique gestarum*, a compendium of the scientific and geographical knowledge of the time, later owned and used by Christopher Columbus, Pius had explicitly expressed his indebtedness

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[10] Pius II, *Commentaries*, Book II, vol. 22 (1936–37) 138.

[11] 'Non enim apprehendimus motum nisi per quandam comparationem ad fixum'; Nicholas of Cusa, *De docta ignorantia* XII 162 6–7, in Niccolò Cusano, *Opere Filosofiche*, ed. G. Federici-Vescovini (Turin: 1972) 147. Edmund Husserl (1859–1938) returned to the idea that lived body and lived place link up with each other through the simple basic action of walking; Casey E.S., *The Fate of Place: A Philosophical History* (Berkeley, CA: 1998) 224–230.

[12] The whereabouts of this volume are no longer known, but Pius's ownership of it is recorded in his nephew's will: Strnad A.A., "Francesco Todeschini-Piccolomini: Politik und Mäzenatentum im Quattrocento", *Römische historische Mitteilungen* 8–9 (1964–66) 101–425, here 355.

not only to Ptolemy but also to Strabo,[13] of whose *Geographia* Pius also owned two copies.[14] Strabo stresses throughout the entire work the interconnectedness of terrestrial and celestial phenomena, thus of geography and philosophy. For Pius and his intellectual circle, which included besides Cusa, Leon Battista Alberti and Paolo dal Pozzo Toscanelli, this interconnectedness was a given: geography, mathematics, astronomy and theology all melded together in a seamless continuum. Now practised as divergent forms of scholarship, these disciplines in the fifteenth century shared common roots and common modes of inquiry. It is for this reason that Pienza should be interpreted on the cosmographical scale according to which it was planned. This is attested to by the fact that Pius made gifts to the city of a clock and a newly commissioned, painted *mappamondo*, the most up-to-date devices by which Pius could register and demonstrate the city's existence within time and space.[15]

In an age when dates in the year were as a matter of course understood by reference to saints' days, Pius was accustomed to planning important visits and events to coincide with festivals marked out in the religious calendar.[16] For example, as master of ceremonies, Aeneas Silvius had orchestrated the arrival of Emperor Frederick III at Siena to meet his bride Leonora of Portugal in time for the feast of St Martin.[17] In respect of the journey to the congress of Mantua due to begin on St Sebastian's day, Pius superstitiously proclaimed that he 'preferred to risk his life rather than defer the day set for his departure'.[18] This was followed in the course of the same trip by Pius's first recorded

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[13] Pius II, *Opera omnia* (Basle, Henricus Petrus: 1551) 281–386, here 282.

[14] Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. Chigi J.VIII.279 and Vat. lat. 2051.

[15] The *mappamondo* was commissioned in Rome from the Venetian Girolamo Bellavista; Archivio di Stato di Roma (A.S.R.) *Camerale I* (Tesoreria Segreta) 1288, fols. 94v, 96v, 100r, 101r, spring 1462, cited by Adams N., "The Construction of Pienza (1459–64) and the Consequences of *Renovatio*", in Zimmermann S. – Weissman R.F.E. (eds.), *Urban Life in the Renaissance* (Newark: 1989) 50–79, here 70. That it was sent to Pienza; A.S.R. *Camerale I* 1289, fol. 101r, 19 October 1463, cited ibidem, 70 note 50. The clock is recorded in A.S.R. *Camerale I* (Tesoreria Segreta) 1289, fols. 121v, 122v, cited ibidem, 70 note 51.

[16] A *Missale Romanum* was made for Aeneas Silvius in 1456 and illuminated by Benozzo Gozzoli. Fols. 1r–6v comprise a calendar recording saints' days and religious feasts and showing the seven-day phases of the moon. The missal contains annotations in Pius's own handwriting: Siena, Biblioteca Communale degli Intronati Codex G III 11.

[17] Pius II, *Commentaries*, Book I, vol. 22 (1936–37) 57.

[18] Ibidem, 132.

pontifical return to Corsignano, which fell just in time to celebrate the feast of *Cathedra Petri*,[19] an annual event honouring the day of the foundation of the papacy and the Church. The aptness of celebrating this particular feast in the town of the pope's birth suggests that this was hardly coincidental.

Just two months after Pius's above-mentioned visit to Corsignano, legal measures were put in place to allow the community a market and an annual fair each May.[20] The decision to rebuild the heart of the town must have been taken during spring 1459, since work began in May.[21] An early priority was to improve fortifications[22] and, according to Flavio Biondo, the foundation stone of the cathedral was laid on the feast day of St Lawrence 1460.[23] During the period 1459 to 1464, Pius and his associates bought up property in Pienza equating to twelve percent of its total pre-existing housing stock. The pope's agents were, moreover, speculating in the surrounding countryside to ensure that the miniature city had a property income to maintain it.[24] The small town was created into a bishopric – hence a city – with the name of Pienza by papal bull on 13 August 1462.[25] Giuseppe Chironi has made clear the anomalous nature of this given its timing and size, in addition to the fact that subsequent legal arrangements effectively guaranteed continued Piccolomini control following the pope's demise – the creation of an ecclesiastical patrimony exempt from the jurisdiction

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19 Ibidem, 147. The papal entourage arrived at Corsignano on 21 February 1459 and left two days later. The feast of *Cathedra Petri* is celebrated annually on 22 February.

20 Archivio di Stato di Siena, Consiglio Generale, 228, fols. 105r–105v (28 April 1459); cited by Adams, "Pienza", in Fiore F.P. (ed.), *Storia dell'architettura italiana: il Quattrocento* (Milan: 1998) 314–329, here 328 note 10.

21 Del Grande D., "Pienza, la 'città di Pio'", in Giorgianni G. (ed.), *Pio II, la città, le arti: la rifondazione umanistica dell'architettura e del paesaggio* (Siena: 2006) 17–31, here 30; Adams, "The construction of Pienza" 56.

22 'Lustravit primum solido de marmore muros et scrobibus cinxit moenia lata loci'; extract from a poem by Porcellio Pandoni (1464?), transcribed and translated in Appendix 1 of Mack, *Pienza* 170, citing Trieste, Biblioteca Civica, II,25 (T), fols. 106v–107r.

23 Mack, *Pienza* 225 note 9 shows that this was not possible but posits instead the feast of St Matthew (21 September).

24 Adams, "The Construction of Pienza" 65–67.

25 Archivio Segreto Vaticano, Registro Vaticano 487, fols. 187r–190v, cited by Chironi G., "Pius II and the Formation of the Ecclesiastical Institutions of Pienza", in von Martels Z. – Vanderjagt A. (eds.), *Pius II – 'El Pìu expeditivo pontifice': Selected Studies on Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini (1405–1464)* (Leiden: 2003) 171–185, here note 1.

of secular courts and taxation, what Chironi terms 'a case of perfect family patronage'.[26]

The choice of the feast of the Beheading of St John the Baptist in 1462 as the day on which to dedicate the new cathedral was influenced to a certain extent by the speed of building. Pius had already witnessed work-in-progress on the construction of the Palazzo Piccolomini during his return from Mantua to Rome in September 1460 and was personally up-dated during a visit to Rome by the architect Bernardo Rossellino in July 1461.[27] By the time of the prolonged stay at Corsignano by Pius and his entourage from June or July to September 1462, the pope could report that:

> All of these buildings except the bell tower, which was still unfinished, were completed from foundation to roof in three years.[28]

The buildings to which he refers include the Palazzo Piccolomini, the lower and upper churches of the cathedral and the sacristy. The *campanile* at that time was built to only two-thirds of its intended height, however the well had already been completed and the *piazza* had been 'paved with bricks laid on their sides in mortar' [Fig. 1].[29] Pius placed considerable pressure on his cardinals to buy land and build palaces in the city. The present Palazzo Vescovile on the east side of the piazza is the pre-existing Priors' Palace, which had been bought by Cardinal Rodrigo Borgia and given a facelift.[30] The new Palazzo Ammannati was probably completed by 1462, since the loyal and enthusiastic Cardinal Ammannati Piccolomini had purchased the land as soon as he could in 1460.[31] The Palazzo Comunale was underway though not finished by this stage. Although construction or refurbishment was to extend to at least forty buildings by the pope's death in 1464, by August 1462 the cathedral and its environs were sufficiently advanced to perform the dedication ceremony and officially 'show off' the new nucleus of the recently elevated city to its inhabitants and near neighbours, not to

[26] Chironi, "Pius II and the Formation" 177 note 18, 183.
[27] Mack, *Pienza* 40–41.
[28] Pius II, *Commentaries*, Book IX, vol. 35 (1951) 603.
[29] Ibidem, 601.
[30] Ibidem, 604; Mack, *Pienza* 99.
[31] Mack, *Pienza* 118. Conversely, Cardinal Francesco Gonzaga was subjected to a whole day of persuasion; Adams, "The construction of Pienza" 67.

mention the curia, by way – it is proposed – of a procession through its streets.[32]

The choice of the feast of the Beheading of St John the Baptist was, however, subject to a further consideration. The cathedral was to be dedicated to Santa Maria Assunta, as had been the medieval church that was demolished to make way for it.[33] This begs the question why the dedication of the cathedral was not timed to coincide with the feast of the Assumption of the Virgin on 15 August. In his study of the architecture of the cathedral and its *piazza*, Daniele Del Grande has shown that, according to the Julian calendar (which was still in use until its reform by Pope Gregory XIII in 1582), the day of the feast of the Beheading of St John the Baptist, namely 29 August, was also the calendrical date of the autumnal equinox, one of the two points in the year when day and night are purportedly of equal length.[34] This fact is key to the decision for the ceremony to be enacted on the later date.

In his seminal studies of ritual behaviour in Florence, Richard Trexler has shown that through the Middle Ages and Renaissance astrologers were routinely consulted to read the configuration of the stellar sphere before governmental or military events were planned, in order to ensure the stars' beneficence on the saint's day in question. Religious processions were likewise planned according to the conjunctions of the heavens: for example Florence's official herald, Francesco Filarete, was regularly consulted on such matters.[35] The intellectual circle around Pius II was vitally interested in astronomy. Cardinal Nicholas of Cusa prefigured Copernicus in positing a universe that did not have the earth at its centre. The Greek cardinal Bessarion, who could himself compute planetary positions, was presented with an astrolabe by his friend, the German astronomer Regiomontanus, coincidentally or not in the same year as the dedication ceremony of Pienza

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[32] Pius's other processions are treated in Nevola F., "'La più gloriosa solemnità che a dí de padri nostri giammai fusse veduta': Feste ed apparati urbani durante il pontificato di Pio II Piccolomini", in Ricciardelli F. (ed.), *I luoghi del sacro. Il sacro e la città fra medioevo ed età moderna* (Florence: 2008) 171–186.

[33] Mack, *Pienza* 77; Del Grande, "Pienza" 23; Os H.W. van, "Painting in a House of Glass: The Altarpieces of Pienza", *Simiolus: Netherlands Quarterly for the History of Art* 17,1 (1987) 23–38, here 31.

[34] Del Grande, "Pienza" 28.

[35] Trexler R.C. (ed.), *The* Libro Cerimoniale *of the Florentine Republic by Francesco Filarete and Angelo Manfidi* (Geneva: 1978) 49. See also idem, "Ritual Behaviour in Renaissance Florence: the Setting", *Medievalia et Humanistica* 4 (1973) 125–144, here 134–137.

cathedral.[36] Pius's own attitude to astronomy and astrology (confused and enmeshed in the fifteenth century)[37] can be inferred from his disapproving observation that of all the scholars whom Alfonso of Naples consulted, one never saw an astrologer (*astrologos*) amongst them.[38] A relative of Pius, Alessandro Piccolomini (1508–1578), was to produce the first star atlas to be published in the west.[39]

For the pope and his cardinals, astronomical events were moreover laden with religious symbolism. The regularity of the seasons was teleological evidence of divine order, the calendrical succession a temporal sign, by contrast, of God and eternity.[40] Solar imagery was widely applied in descriptions of Christ: the birth of the sun in the winter solstice symbolised the birth of Christ, the coming of the spring His Resurrection, the vernal equinox His conception, the autumnal equinox His forthcoming sacrifice, winter the season of His death.[41] The coincidence of the feast of the Beheading of St John the Baptist with the autumnal equinox, namely the coincidence of a religious festival with a significant astronomical and symbolical event, would have made the date of 29 August an especially auspicious one for the dedication ceremony of the new cathedral. As will become clear below, the astronomical phenomenon would have manifest consequences during the dedication proceedings. Meanwhile, the date having been set, the pope had time to organise gifts for the cathedral, amongst which were choir books, tapestries, an incense gondola, a holy water vessel and, for the new bishop, a mitre, crosier, ring and a precious, embroidered cope.[42]

Despite the lengthy, detailed descriptions of the appearance of Pienza that constitute most of Book 9 of the *Commentaries*, Pius tells us disappointingly little about the proceedings on 29 August 1462. This brevity could be partly accounted for by the attention paid instead

[36] King D.A., *Astrolabes and Angels, Epigrams and Enigmas: from Regiomontanus' Acrostic for Cardinal Bessarion to Piero della Francesca's Flagellation of Christ* (Stuttgart: 2007) 7–9.

[37] Garin E., *Astrology in the Renaissance: The Zodiac of Life*, trsl. C. Jackson – J. Allen (London: 1983).

[38] Pius II, *De dictis et factis Alphonsi regis memorabilibus*, part-transcribed in Widmer B., *Eneo Silvio Piccolomini Papst Pius II* (Basel – Stuttgart: 1960) 416.

[39] Alessandro Piccolomini, *De la sfera del mondo. Dele stele fisse* (Venice, Volpini: 1540).

[40] Saint Augustine, *De Civitate Dei* IV, 46.

[41] As often repeated in early Christian literature; Hanfmann G.M.A., *The Season Sarcophagus in Dumbarton Oaks*, 2 vols. (Cambridge, Mass.: 1951) here vol. I, 201.

[42] These are held by the Museo del Duomo, Pienza.

to the much more popular feast of St Matthew, a festival falling only a few weeks later on 21 September, traditionally celebrated with *gusto* by the local rural community and which is described in animated detail. The opportunity for further self-popularisation afforded by this later feast was not missed by Pius, who extended his and the cardinals' stay in order to bestow still more bounty on Pienza, with monetary contributions and the gift of new robes for the councillors.[43] Of the earlier feast of the Beheading of St John the Baptist, the day appointed for the cathedral dedication, Pius says only that:

> [...] the Pope dedicated the church and the altars, the Cardinal of Ostia [Guillaume d'Estouteville] officiating. He himself anointed the front of the high altar and when the relics of the saint had been deposited in it he affixed the seal.[44]

The brevity of his description of this important day seems uncharacteristic of Pius and is addressed below. The relic to which he refers was the mandible of St Andrew, separated from the rest of the apostle's skull in order to bestow it upon the town of his birth, whilst the larger relic of the head became the focus of veneration in the pope's new funerary chapel of St Andrew in the old basilica of St Peter's in Rome.[45] Pius had had time to consider how he could best deploy the relic of St Andrew's head, since it first came to his attention some time following May 1460 that Thomas Paleologus, deposed despot of Morea, had removed the sacred head from Patras to a place of temporary safety from the Turks. The pope sent two envoys to persuade Paleologus to personally bring the head to Rome, under the threat of 'the anger of the Apostles'.[46] Promising to restore the relic to its former home as soon as it was safe, the custody of the head was always presented as a temporary measure. The separation of the lower jawbone was a way of permanently retaining a fragment of the relic on home soil.[47] The presentation of St Andrew's mandible on a day in honour of St John the

[43] Pius II, *Commentaries*, Book IX, vol. 35 (1951) 604.
[44] Ibidem, 604.
[45] Antoniutti A., "Pio II e Sant'Andrea. Le ragioni della devozione", in Di Paola et alii (eds.), *Enea Silvio Piccolomini* 329–344; Rubinstein, "Pius II's Piazza S. Pietro".
[46] Pius II, *Commentaries*, Book VIII, vol. 35 (1951) 523–524; Pius, *Memoirs* 241–243.
[47] Pieper J., *Pienza. Il progetto di una vision umanistica del mondo* (London: 2000) 124.

Baptist must have seemed to Pius a compatible conjunction, since the latter was the teacher of the former.[48]

The relic of the mandible was presented to Pienza in the Italo-Byzantine reliquary in which the whole head had arrived from Patras the previous year,[49] the silver gilt bust strangely reminiscent of the iconography of the decollation of the Baptist.[50] No longer strictly representative of its contents, the sculpture belongs to a long tradition of portable body-part reliquaries, of which those of heads and arms were the most popular, as the most expressive parts of the human form.[51] The archaic style of the reliquary lent credence to the relic's cult history and authenticity. Pius was well aware of the cultural capital to be derived from the donation of a relic, the ritual associated with which endowed a place and its inhabitants with a civic life, structure and identity.[52] The donation of the mandible introduced a new date into the Pientine calendar, the feast of St Andrew, to be celebrated annually on 30 November, as it still is to this day, when communal officials would parade the relic around the city to arrive finally at the cathedral to hear mass and offer candles. Pius intended the relic of St Andrew to give rise to a new celebration, as his court poet, Giannantonio Campano, indicated:

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[48] The lower church of the cathedral is dedicated to Saint John the Baptist, a local tradition holding that this once housed a relic of the saint, as verbally confirmed (25 March 2009) by Don Icilio, parish priest and custodian of the cathedral. The relic was probably a fragment of that donated to Florence cathedral, see note 9 above. Mack refers obliquely, though without a reference, to the saint's relic that would 'later be housed' in the lower church'; Mack, *Pienza* 77–79.

[49] Although Ruth Rubinstein labelled the reliquary 'Greek', opinions vary about its origins and style. The author is indebted to George Noszlopy and Michael Michael for their opinion that it looks 'Italo-Byzantine'. Thanks go also for their time and consideration to Lucy-Anne Hunt, Angeliki Lymberopoulou and Ruth Macrides.

[50] Meanwhile, the larger part of the relic of St Andrew's head was to be displayed in Rome in a new reliquary commissioned from Simone di Giovanni Ghini; Rubinstein, "Pius II's Piazza" 241. The new reliquary was donated to Pienza cathedral in 1964 by Pope Paul VI in exchange for the Italo-Byzantine one, so that the sacred head in its original container could be restored to the Greek Orthodox church of St Andrew in Patras according to Pius II's original promise.

[51] Walker Bynum C. – Gerson P., "Body-Part Reliquaries and Body Parts in the Middle Ages", *Gesta* 36,1 (1997) 3–7; Klein H.A., "Eastern Objects and Western Desires: Relics and Reliquaries between Byzantium and the West", *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 58 (2004) 283–314.

[52] Trexler R.C., *Public Life in Renaissance Florence* (New York – London: 1980) 271.

> I am Pienza, the city that rises, new-built, on the lofty hillside […] He [Pius] […] added my name, chosen according to the custom of the Senate, and he gave me ceremonies befitting a city and new laws.[53]

The ceremony 'befitting a city' put Pienza on a footing with Siena, Florence, Mantua, Ferrara and Rome, whose parading of relics are insistently reported in the *Commentaries*. In such cases, processional competition to march as near to the power-laden relic as possible led to the securing and preservation of a social hierarchy: in Pienza, Piccolomini family members or their representatives were clearly to take pride of place.

Apart from references to the founding and naming of Pienza, there appears to be no detailed eye-witness report of the proceedings on 29 August 1462 other than Pius's cursory account noted above.[54] We may seek guidance on the occasion, however, from the *Pontificale Romanum* written by Agostino Patrizi Piccolomini, erstwhile secretary to Pius II, extended family member, clerk of papal ceremonies for twenty years, canon of Pienza cathedral and finally its bishop.[55] The work puts into written form the traditional ritual procedures of the pope and curia that had been practised for centuries. Without doubt, in the case of Pienza the procession gathered in the *piazza* in front of the cathedral [Map 1], with the imposing flank of the Palazzo Piccolomini rising immediately to the left [Fig. 1]. The adjacent well, literal and metaphorical fountainhead for the populace, announces by way of an inscription on its *all'antica* well-head the name of the new city's founding father and the year of dedication, 'PIVS PP II MCCCCLXII' ('Pius Pontifex Pientinus II, 1462').[56] According to custom, processions were preceded by a sermon, perhaps given on this occasion by the city's

[53] 'Quae nova sublimi surgo Pientia colle […] / Addidit et nomen lectumque e more Senatum / Urbanos ritus et nova iura dedit'; poem in Praise of Pienza, June 1462, transcribed in Appendix 1 of Mack, *Pienza* 165–166. The verse was composed on the occasion of Corsignano's change of name and was included in Pius's *Commentaries*. Campano's praise of Pius was built in to the mutually beneficial arrangement between them; Beer S. de, "Giannantonio Campano's Poetry for Pope Pius II Piccolomini", in Di Paola et alii (eds.), *Enea Silvio Piccolomini* 307–323.

[54] On the part of the rural, indigenous population, this comes as no surprise. On the unexpected lack of detail from Pius and his courtiers, see below.

[55] Compiled under the pontificates of Sixtus IV (r. 1471–1484) and Innocent VIII (r. 1484–1492), the *Pontificale Romanum* is transcribed in Latin, with commentary in French, in Dykmans M., *L'oeuvre de Patrizi Piccolomini ou le cérémonial papal de la premiere renaissance*, 2 vols. (Vatican City: 1980) here vol. I, 7–15.

[56] Architectural precedents for the buildings around the piazza are discussed by Nevola, "Architettura civile" 184–198.

bishop-elect, Giovanni Cinughi, the intention of which was to invoke an atmosphere of heightened spirituality and emotion, the presence of a holy relic often eliciting tears.[57] At a parallel moment the previous year, the public appearance in Rome of the relic of St Andrew's head, Pius recorded that there was no-one who did not weep:

> […] there was profound silence except for the sobs of those who beat their breasts and could not control their tears.[58]

In his section *Quomodo procedit in publicum pontifex*, Agostino Patrizi describes in great detail the precise order of those moving off in procession with the pope, which, given the small scale of Pienza, must on this occasion have been somewhat curtailed. Nonetheless it helps conjure the festive colour, sound, aromas and excitement of a small city embellished with tapestries, flags and ceremonial garb, and decked out with strewn flowers, fragrant herbs and hung branches. In the forefront of the parade went standard bearers carrying many banners. Four honorary equerries followed, carrying caps of crimson velvet atop long staffs. Before the papal cross went two master ushers carrying silk-covered rods; immediately after it followed twelve footmen with lighted torches. Two clerks carried silver lanterns with burning candles.[59] Patrizi continues:

> Behind these is led a white horse with decorated harness – this should be a gentle and fine-looking horse with a bell round its neck that produces a lovely sound, to transport the casket with the Most Holy Body of Christ, and citizens from the nobility will carry a canopy over it.[60]

Only the cardinals were allowed to come between the sacred host and the pope, who was borne aloft in the *sedia gestatoria* by the most noble of the citizens.[61] Judging by events of the previous year, the pope himself

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[57] For the name of the bishop, Mack, *Pienza* 77. On the pre-processional sermon, Trexler, *Public Life* 353–354. On collective weeping, Christian W.A. Jr., "Provoked Religious Weeping in Early Modern Spain", in Davis J. (ed.), *Religious Organization and Religious Experience* (London: 1982) 97–114.

[58] Pius II, *Commentaries*, Book VIII, vol. 35 (1951) 529.

[59] Dykmans, *L'oeuvre de Patrizi* vol. I, 181–182 paras. 494–495.

[60] 'Ducitur post hos equus albus faleratus mansuetus et pulcher, cum tintinabulo ad collum bene sonante, qui capsulam vehit cum sacratissimo Christi corpore, supra quod cives nobiles portabunt baldachinum'; Dykmans, *L'oeuvre de Patrizi* vol. I, 182 para 496.

[61] Dykmans, *L'oeuvre de Patrizi* vol. I, 182 para 496; 183 para. 498.

carried the reliquary.[62] If crowds pressed too close to the pontiff, his almoner scattered a few coins out to the people, while servants-of-arms with silver staffs ran back and forth keeping order. Finally, the local clergy wearing white vestments brought up the rear.[63]

Thus the procession edged forward in flamboyant splendour. In the *Commentaries*, Pius mentions some of the buildings along the present-day Corso Rossellino, however one must bear in mind that at the time of the dedication ceremony the main thoroughfare was in its greatest state of transition [Fig. 3].[64] Contrary to common expectation for a renaissance city, the main thoroughfare is neither straight nor symmetrical: unlike their papal exemplar, the cardinal-patrons commissioning *palazzi* had to operate on a piecemeal basis amongst medieval streets and buildings.[65]

Serendipitously, by the time of the pope's death when construction of the palaces drew to a halt, the appearance of the arterial road coincided with the planning advice of Leon Battista Alberti:

> Within the town itself it is better if the roads are not straight, but meandering gently like a river flowing now here, now there, from one bank to the other.… And it is no trifle that visitors at every step meet yet another facade […].[66]

Alberti, like Pius, writes from the point of view of an observer on the move. In the architecture, the unifying effect of cornices, uninterrupted string courses, repeated features and perhaps a continuous bench along the 'curial row' mark the Corso out as a processional route.[67] The order in which Pius sets out to describe these buildings, moving eastwards (to the right) from the piazza, is perhaps indicative of the direction that the procession would have taken:[68] one may

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[62] Pius II, *Commentaries*, Book VIII, vol. 35 (1951) 534, 536.

[63] Dykmans, *L'oeuvre de Patrizi* vol. I, 183–184, para 499.

[64] Adams, "The construction of Pienza" 56.

[65] The literature on this is summarised by Smith, *Architecture in the Culture of Early Humanism* 98–119.

[66] Leon Battista Alberti, *On the Art of Building in Ten Books,* trsl. J. Rykwert – N. Leach – R. Tavernor (Cambridge Mass. – London: 1988) 106. On Alberti's influence, see Mack, *Pienza* 36, 40; Nevola, "Architettura civile" 184.

[67] Mack, *Pienza* 128, 150, 157.

[68] 'Other magnificent houses were built in the city. The Cardinal of Arras [Jean Jouffroy] erected a large and lofty palace behind the Vice-Chancellor's [Rodrigo Borgia]'; Pius II, *Commentaries*, Book IX, vol. 35 (1951) 604.

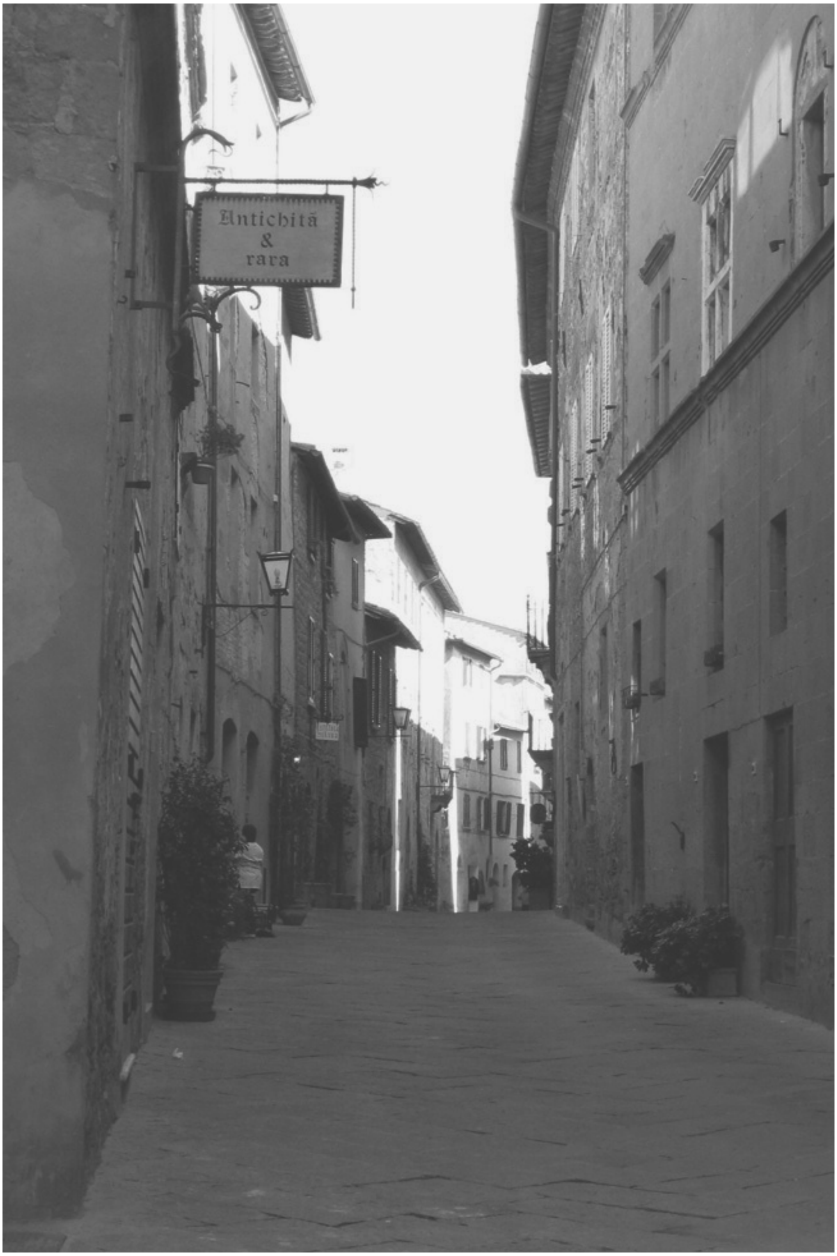

Fig. 3. Present-day Corso Rossellino, Pienza, facing east (photo: author).

posit therefore an anticlockwise ceremonial circuit through the town [Map 1].

Contrapuntally, Pius's many vivid, lyrical descriptions of the natural landscape, not to mention the design of the triple-porticoed rear facade of his *palazzo* looking out over the expansive valley to the south, leave us in no doubt that the vistas from the hilltop site were very much part of Pius's vision, extending even to an intention to dam the river Orcia to create a lake.[69] Just as the cathedral façade is framed against the stunning backdrop of this panorama, so breathtaking views of the pope's beloved, wooded Monte Amiata are fleetingly glimpsed between shady buildings when looking out to the right from the Corso [Fig. 4]. Similarly, on approaching a left turn into the present-day Via San Carlo at the eastern perimeter of the town, the Tuscan hills hover majestically above the Porta al Ciglio. In the pope's words: 'If you strain your eyes you can see as far as the Apennines and make out the town of Cortona on a high hill not far from Lake Trasimeno [...]'.[70] Pius seems to present Pienza and its environs as a microcosm of cosmic harmony.

A further left turn reveals a thoroughfare wide enough for a procession to pass through and – it is suggested – planned partly with this in mind, since this pocket of the city was cleared and reconstructed within a year of the inaugural ceremony [Fig. 5]. This is the Via delle Case Nuove named after the group of twelve houses that were built to alleviate the tumultuous effects of Pius's initiative on the local, dispossessed populace.[71] Thence the procession would have moved forwards along the northern flank of the city, the Via delle Mura, where one can imagine, though it no longer stands, the length of the towering city wall echoing the clamour of musical instruments and the cheering populace. Just as in Rome, 'matrons and maids with lighted tapers, dressed as befitted the occasion' would have watched from upper storey windows, 'spellbound by the marvellous dignity and solemnity of the

[69] 'Instituitque lacum propter currentia rivis'; extract from a poem by Porcellio Pandoni (1464?); see note 22 above. 'Cogitaverat Anienem ad Tybur usque navigabilem reddere; portum quoque Traiani repurgare, et in Pientino lacum facere, Orcia flumine occluso ac rivo ex Amiatae radicibus eodem derivato'; extract from *Pii II vita* of Giannantonio Campano (before 1474). These are transcribed in Appendix 1 of Mack, *Pienza* here 170, 178, 226 note 28.

[70] Pius II, *Commentaries*, Book IX, vol. 35 (1951) 600.

[71] Adams, "The construction of Pienza" 69; Nevola, "Archittetura civile" 195.

Fig. 4. Monte Amiata viewed from present-day Corso Rossellino along Via dell'Amore, Pienza (photo: author).

Fig. 5. Via delle Case Nuove, Pienza, built 1463 by Pietro Paolo Porrina (photo: author).

procession'.[72] To complete the circuit the cortège must have squeezed its way through the narrow streets to rejoin the Corso.

Eyes would once more be drawn to the right, if not to catch sight of the Orcia valley, then to peer into 'the great north door' of the Palazzo Piccolomini, surely thrown open on this occasion so that, as Pius tells us, 'you could see straight through the peristyle and court, then through a back door to the lower portico and as far as the very end of the garden'.[73]

Once beyond the *palazzo*, the procession would find itself back in the small square before the majestic, classical facade of the cathedral [Fig. 6]. This was a suitable venue for the enactment of a *sacra rappresentazione*, customary during such occasions, the beheading of St John the Baptist possibly played out, with the silver gilt reliquary taking centre stage. It will be recalled that 29 August was also the date in the Julian calendar of the autumnal equinox. If we suppose that the circuit of the town had been organised to allow the pope, cardinals and participants to regroup around the piazza in time for mid-day, they would then be witness to what Daniele Del Grande has called '*il gioco d'ombra sulla piazza*', whereby the cathedral operated as a colossal sun dial casting its great shadow to fall fully, squarely and exactly into the articulated grid of the piazza, a phenomenon, as Del Grande points out, unlikely to be a coincidence. Needless to say, calculations that could calibrate the axis and height of the church and the size and tilt of the piazza with the equinox meridian would require the greatest mathematical minds of the age. The names of those in Pius's circle qualifying for this epithet barely need repeating: one thinks above all of Cusa and Toscanelli.[74] It seems perfectly consistent with Pius's character and ambition that in his memorial to himself he would seek to make a public statement of such cosmic proportions, recruiting the fall of the equinoctial shadow, with its symbolism of Christ's forthcoming sacrifice, to play a part in the feast of the beheading of the Precursor.

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72 Pius II, *Commentaries*, Book VIII, vol. 35 (1951) 527, 535.

73 Pius II, *Commentaries*, Book IX, vol. 35 (1951) 600.

74 Del Grande, "Pienza" 26. Around 1468 Toscanelli calculated the gnomon for Florence cathedral which records the summer solstice to within half a second; Fiorani F., *The Marvel of Maps: Art, Cartography and Politics in Renaissance Italy* (New Haven – London: 2005) 54. Eamonn Canniffe notes the correlation between the façade of Pienza cathedral and the grid of the *piazza*, commenting that 'theatrical attitudes were a significant component of renaissance urbanism'; *The Politics of the Piazza: The History and Meaning of the Italian Square* (Aldershot: 2008) 83–88.

Fig. 6. Bernardo Rossellino, cathedral façade across Piazza Pio II, Pienza, built 1459–1462 (photo: author).

Before continuing to chart the procession's progress into the *duomo*, it is apposite at this point to return to Pius's surprisingly incomplete reference to the ceremony in his *Commentaries.* A carefully crafted autobiographical document based on antique precedent, the *Commentaries* was explicitly intended to shape and memorialise Pius's reputation on earth.[75] The cursory mention of proceedings on this day is thus surprising, but can be explained on two counts. The first relates to the fact that Pius had promised the return of the relic of St Andrew's head to Patras once the Turks had been vanquished. Clearly, his appropriation of a fragment of the sacred relic for donation to a city of his own founding and own name would have met with disapproval: even mention of the apostle's name is omitted from the account of the sealing of the relic into the altar. The second concerns Pius's failure to reform the Julian calendar, one consequence of which was the fact that his equinoctial shadow fell on a date that was no longer the astronomically correct equinox.

Pius and his circle were acutely aware that the timing of the vernal and autumnal equinoxes marked in the calendar were, by 1462, eleven days adrift from the *actual* astronomical occurrences, due to the cumulative effect of the discrepancy between the Julian year and the actual time that the earth takes to revolve around the sun. The ramifications of this discordance were enormous for the Church, since the vernal equinox defined the date of Easter, upon which the whole of the liturgical calendar depended. For both a devout theologian like Nicholas of Cusa and a self-respecting scholar like Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini, calendaristic reform was urgent and imperative. Yet the unpopularity of change and mounting fear of jeopardising the delicate union with the Orthodox Church meant that the difficult matter was continually deferred. Pius well understood, however, that – if not he – then a future pontiff would need to reform the Julian calendar in order to rectify its slippage from solar rhythms. Shrewd to the last, Pius would not wish to draw attention in his autobiography to his own failure to do so. Thus it seems that he wittingly, though quietly, allowed his equinoctial shadow to fall on a date that was astronomically incorrect.[76]

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75 As delineated in Pius's Preface.

76 Del Grande, "Pienza" 27–28. Ammannati likewise omits to describe the day's proceedings; Ammannati Piccolomini I., *Lettere (1444–1479)*, ed. P. Cherubini, 3 vols. (Rome: 1997). On the reform of the calendar, see Coyne G.V. – Hoskin M.A. –

Returning now to the procession, if proceedings progressed in accordance with Agostino Patrizi's ceremonial, Pius next solemnly approached the cathedral entrance where bishop-elect Cinughi handed him the aspersorium, the pope sprinkling himself and those around him with holy water. One imagines the scene as it had been in Rome:

> The faces of all expressed solemnity, reverence, and devotion. There was not a single unseemly gesture and the procession of cardinals passed with such dignity that the watching crowds […] were stirred to worship.[77]

Protocol required that, setting alight and carrying the incense, Pius would lead the procession into the nave. There he knelt before the altar, to the accompaniment of the canticle *Te Deum laudamus*.[78] Pius relates how on this day he dedicated the church and its altars, the plan of the building lending itself to an easy passage of the celebrants around the semicircular apse, halting at each of the four chapels in turn, before finally mounting the steps to the high altar for the climax of the ceremony [Fig. 7]. Pius 'anointed the front of the high altar and when the relics of the saint had been deposited in it he affixed the seal'.[79] At the reception of St Andrew's head at Rome the previous year, Pius and the cardinals had wept, their eyes streaming 'with tears of joy and adoration' as the reliquary was placed on the altar to a chorus of chanted hymns.[80] A similarly highly charged atmosphere must have prevailed at Pienza. Then came the mass, for the saying of which Pius had decreed a return to the early Christian practice, '*celebrare versus populum*'. In Pienza cathedral:

> […] the priest and his attendants […] have the people behind them, and the choir in front, next to the pontifical chair.[81]

The latter, still extant in the centre of the choir chapel below its enormous (by Italian standards) gothic window, bears a wooden relief of the Piccolomini pontifical crest and the dedication year MCCCCLXII

Pederson O. (eds.), *Gregorian Reform of the Calendar: Proceedings of the Vatican Conference to Commemorate its 400th Anniversary, 1582–1982* (Vatican City: 1983).

77 Pius II, *Commentaries*, Book VIII, vol. 35 (1951) 533.

78 Dykmans, *L'oeuvre de Patrizi*, vol. I, 188 paras 516–517.

79 Pius II, *Commentaries*, Book IX, vol. 35 (1951) 604.

80 Pius II, *Commentaries*, Book VIII, vol. 35 (1951) 527.

81 Pius II, *Commentaries*, Book IX, vol. 35 (1951) 602; Os van, "Painting in a house of glass" 35.

Fig 7. Pienza cathedral, interior view of nave facing high altar (© Photo SCALA, Florence 2010).

in delicate intarsia inlay. The light flooding through the chapel window has the effect of creating an aureole above the pope's cathedra with, in the right conditions, a shadow of the peak of Pius's 'sacred mountain', Monte Amiata, silhouetted against the glass.[82] It was against this blaze of almost incandescent light before the eyes of the congregation that the host was elevated in the act of transubstantiation.[83] Finally, to complete the ceremony, Pius once more ascended to the altar and blessed the people with the closing words of '*Sit nomen Domini*'.[84] Thus formal ritual drew to a close, doubtless, as was customary, giving way to games, dancing and feasting.

The emphasis given in this paper to circumambulation of the city seems to be corroborated by a poem written in praise of Pienza and its founder a few years after Pius's death. The poem, written by Campano, conjures the mental image of the pope's spirit circulating the perimeter of his creation:

> Hail, new city, which has obtained the name Pienza from Pius; may the gods look favourably on your walls and inhabitants. And hail also palace of Pius and cathedral built by him, and his shade, if any such thing is still wandering around those walls of his.[85]

Whilst the notion of an encircling spirit may be dismissed as rhetoric, the fact that Campano – a humanist scholar from within Pius's inner circle – connects the memory of his patron with a ritual circuit of the town suggests that the idea is grounded in historical fact. That Pius instituted processions at Pienza would be in keeping with his own life experience and fifteenth-century court culture. These considerations, taken together with the layout and urban fabric of Pienza, render it almost inconceivable that processions did not take place. Indeed these would have been welcomed by an agricultural community that could process its sacred relic for the protection of crops against poor weather conditions and disease.[86]

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[82] Del Grande, "Pienza" 27.

[83] Os van, "Painting in a house of glass" 35.

[84] Dykmans, *L'oeuvre de Patrizi*, vol. I, 188–189 para 517.

[85] 'Urbs nova deque Pio sortita Pientia nomen / Salve, Dii aspiciant moenia, Di homines. / Atque aedes salvete Pii fundataque templa / Et sua siqua istis moenibus umbra vaga est'; extract from a poem praising Pienza and its patron by Giannantonio Campano (1468?), transcribed in Appendix 1 of Mack, *Pienza* 177, 225 note 6.

[86] Zika C., "Hosts, Processions and Pilgrimages: Controlling the Sacred in Fifteenth-Century Germany", *Past and Present* 118 (1988) 25–64.

Pius's massive injection of papal funds and his insistence that his cardinals likewise build *palazzi* in Pienza show that architectural heritage was important to him, whilst the great lengths to which he went to ensure that his nephews and future family members were institutionally bound to maintain a continued interest demonstrates an ambition to memorialise himself in a way that would militate against the passage of time. To read Pienza as a well preserved architectural monument is, however, to undervalue Pius's cosmic vision. Whilst the endowment of a bishop raised the status of Pienza to that of city, it was the donation of the holy relic in its portable reliquary that was the crucial vivifying act. This at once made Pienza a locus of special access to the divine and instituted an annual procession on the new feast day of St Andrew, which would rekindle Pius's memory through the very physicality of human movement through time and place. This much is intimated in Campano's earlier reference to 'ceremonies befitting a city'. Loyal followers who had been extended the family name such as Cardinal Ammannati Piccolomini, who hastened to Pienza whenever he could,[87] and Agostino Patrizi Piccolomini, author of the *Pontificale Romanum* and bishop of Pienza from 1484, must have made it their business to ensure that the new annual rite continued to be observed with requisite pomp and majesty. The possibility, moreover, that Pius had his cathedral designed and built to register its presence every spring and autumn equinox on the grid of the piazza, at least for the duration of the Julian calendar, belies Pius's aspirations that his papal city should participate in some small way in the divine rhythm of the universe.

[87] Mack, *Pienza* 118.

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FOUNDING ROME ANEW. POPE SIXTUS IV AND THE FOUNDATION OF PONTE SISTO, 1473*

Minou Schraven

In cultures across all times, the act of founding bridges has been invested with specific meaning and reserved to high-placed persons with shamanic powers and expert knowledge of the realm of the Gods. To the ancient Romans, water was sacred: the very crossing of a stream demanded ritual purging and offerings to the deities. Since bridges obstruct the free flow of water, their construction was invested with a number of taboos and demanded expert knowledge.[1] From this follows the exceptionally prominent status of the *pontifices maximus*, literally 'supreme bridge-builders', in ancient Roman society, responsible for maintaining the *pax deorum* needed for the well-being of society.

This paper is about a renaissance *pontifex maximus*, Pope Sixtus IV della Rovere (r. 1471–1484) and his act of founding a bridge, the very first that was built in Rome since Antiquity.[2] Founded in 1473, the pope proudly named the bridge after himself, ponte Sisto. Humanist networks in Rome were well aware of the meaning and implications of the founding of the new bridge. During the Sistine pontificate, the bridge was celebrated in an abundance of artistic forms, such as fresco programs, manuscript illuminations, encomiastic poetry and portrait medals.

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[1] Holland L.A., *Janus and the Bridge* (Rome: 1961); Seppilli A., *Sacralità dell'acqua e sacrilegio dei ponti* (Palermo: 1990).

[2] On Pope Sixtus IV: Lee E., *Sixtus IV and Men of Letters* (Rome: 1978); Benzi F. (ed.), *Sisto IV. Le arti a Roma nel primo rinascimento* (Rome: 2000); Verstegen I.F. (ed.), *Patronage and Dynasty. The Rise of the Della Rovere in Renaissance Italy* (Kirksville: 2007).

In his *The Eternal Return*, Mircea Eliade claimed that every ritual has at its roots a divine model, or archetype. Originally performed by gods or mythological ancestors, the act is then repeated time and again by human beings.[3] This way, the founding of ponte Sisto was emblematic for a far bigger entity, in this case nothing less than the ambitious *Renovatio Urbis*, the refounding of Rome during of the Sistine pontificate. Now that the papacy had effectively re-established its control over Rome after the humiliating exile in Avignon, Sixtus IV was determined to restore Rome's status as capital of Christianity and residence of the popes. In view of the Jubilee of 1475, he issued various bulls and edicts, among them *Etsi Universis* of January 1474, obliging cardinals and noble families to restore the churches and palaces of Rome.[4] Many churches in Rome were repaired, among them SS. Vito e Modesto and S. Maria del Popolo. The Cloaca Maxima, one of the world's earliest sewer systems, was cleaned, and both the Lateran and Capitol were established as important centers.[5] Sixtus also instituted the office of the *Maestri delle Strade*, responsible for improving condition of the streets and the supply of water. And the pope had success: the population of Rome soared in this period to 40.000, the same as Florence.[6] This contribution examines how the foundation of the new bridge was effectively turned into an emblem of the ambitious urban and institutional *Renovatio Urbis*, as it was pursued by Pope Sixtus IV and his humanist courtiers, and in which ways the identity of Sixtus IV as benefactor, indeed refounder, of Rome was put forward.

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[3] Eliade M., *Le mythe de l'éternel retour. Archetypes et répétitions* (Paris: 1947); trsl. as *Cosmos and History. The Myth of the Eternal Return* (New York: 1959).

[4] Esch A., "Il Giubileo di Sisto IV (1475)", in Strinati C. (ed.), *La storia dei giubilei. 1450–1575* (Florence 1998) 106–123; Guerrini P., "L'epigrafia sistina come momento della 'restauratio urbis'", in Guerrini P. – Maddalò S. – Niutta F. – Porro D., *Iscrizioni romane sistine. Appendice* in Miglio M. (ed.), *Un pontificato ed una città. Sisto IV 1471–1484* (Rome: 1986) 469–479.

[5] Buddensieg T., "Die Statuenstiftung Sixtus' IV. im Jahre 1471. Von den heidnischen Götzenbildern am Lateran zu den Ruhmeszeichen des römischen Volkes auf dem Kapitol", *Römisches Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte* 20 (1983) 33–73.

[6] Blondin J., "Power Made Visible. Pope Sixtus IV as 'Urbis Restaurator' in Quattrocento Rome", *The Catholic Historical Review* 91 (2005) 1–25; Simoncini G., *Roma. Le trasformazioni urbane nel Quattrocento*, 2 vols. (Florence: 2004) vol. I, 61–204.

Founding a New Bridge

In ancient times, Rome had as many as nine bridges. But after the fall of the Western Roman Empire, the population of Rome declined and its buildings and infrastructure, including the aqueducts and bridges, fell in disrepair. At the time of Sixtus' ascension to the papacy in 1471, there were only two bridges left: the bridges at the Isola Tiberina (ancient *pons Fabricius* and *pons Cestius*) and ponte S. Angelo (ancient *pons Aelius*) at the Vatican.[7] But that was by no means enough for a city that was growing fast, both in its population and in its ambition.

At their return from Avignon, the popes had been confronted with a deeply neglected city. Rome's buildings and infrastructure were in ruins, the streets were dirty, unsafe and cluttered, and papal rule was severely challenged by the local nobility, the Savelli, Colonna and Orsini families each controlling parts of the city. Starting with Martin V Colonna (r. 1417–1431), the popes of the first half of the fifteenth century succeeded in reclaiming the city as theirs, establishing their authority and beginning with much needed restoration works to improve the city's infrastructure and its self-esteem.[8]

The successful Jubilee of 1450 proved to be a turning point with great numbers of pilgrims coming to Rome. To accommodate them, Pope Nicholas V (r. 1447–1455) initiated ambitious renovation and infrastructural projects. Privileging St Peter's and the Vatican Borgo, the center of papal power was definitively transferred from the Lateran to the Vatican.[9] Besides renovating churches and palaces, also the water supply was secured with the prestigious restoration of the Aqua Virgo, the main aqueduct of Rome, originally built by the Roman general Marcus Vipsanius Agrippa (63–12 BCE).[10] Following the destruction of the aqueducts in the early Middle Ages, the population of the city had depended on polluted cisterns and the Tiber, that also was used as a sewer. Now, for the first time, fresh water ran into the city day and night, ending its course at a simple basin designed by the

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[7] Taylor R., "Tiber River Bridges and the Development of the Ancient City of Rome", *The Waters of Rome* 2 (2002) 1–20; Rinne K., *The Waters of Rome. Aqueducts, Fountains and the Birth of the Baroque City* (New Haven: 2010).

[8] Simoncini, *Roma*.

[9] Simoncini, *Roma*. Burroughs C., *From Sign to Design. Environmental Process and Reform in Early Renaissance Rome* (Cambridge, Mass.: 1990) 93.

[10] Taylor R., *Public Needs and Private Pleasures. Water Distribution, the Tiber and the Urban Development of Ancient Rome* (Rome: 2000); Rinne, *The Waters of Rome*.

Florentine humanist and architect Leon Battista Alberti (1404–1472), which heralded the achievement of bringing fresh water into the city [Fig. 1].[11] Yet, that same Jubilee of 1450 had also demonstrated to all the inadequacy of the city's infrastructure in managing the numbers of pilgrims seeking access to the shrine of St Peter's. By far most pilgrims stayed in the densely populated city center near the Pantheon and Piazza Navona, the area of Rome that had been inhabited continuously since the classical period. From there, they used ponte S. Angelo to cross the Tiber and reach St Peter's. In view of the Jubilee, Nicholas V had fortified the piers and renewed the pavement of the bridge. But a single bridge was not enough to accommodate the intense urban traffic, to which thousands of pilgrims were added during the Jubilee. Then, late in the afternoon of 18 December, tragedy struck, as thousands of pilgrims hurried disappointed from St Peter's to their lodgings in the city center; the much-venerated relic of St Veronica had not been displayed, as had been announced earlier that day. A single stubborn mule blocking ponte S. Angelo drove hundreds of pilgrims into their deaths: they either drowned in the cold river or were trampled in the crowds. Spreading rapidly across Italy, the news was interpreted by many as an omen of worse to come.[12]

So, in order to make the new Jubilee of 1475 into a success, a new bridge had to be built. The choice of Sixtus IV and his engineers fell on a site that faced the *Mons Janiculus*, linking Trastevere to the old city center. In late antiquity, there had been a bridge at this site, the *pons Aurelius* or *Antoninus*, which since its destruction in the eighth century went under the name of *pons fractus* or *ruptus*.[13] Even if some remnants of this bridge were probably still in place, ponte Sisto was clearly conceived as a new foundation. Once in place, this new bridge provided pilgrims with the much-desired alternative route to St Peter's, avoiding the overcrowded ponte S. Angelo. In fact, pilgrims crossing

[11] The fountain was the predecessor of the famous Trevi fountain: Rinne, *The Waters of Rome*.

[12] D'Onofrio C., *Il Tevere e Roma* (Rome: 1970) 128–130; Burroughs C., "Below the Angel. An Urbanistic Project in the Rome of Pope Nicholas V", *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 45 (1982) 94–124. Reeves M. (ed.), *Prophetic Rome in the High Renaissance Period* (New York: 1992).

[13] Taylor, "Tiber River Bridges" 10. Rebuilt several times, the bridge is also known as *Janicularis* or *Valentinianus*, after the emperor that reconstructed the bridge in 365 CE. The richly decorated ornaments were found during canalization works in the nineteenth century.

Fig. 1. Leon Battista Alberti, *Basin for the Water of the Acqua Vergine*, Rome (built 1453). Engraving in Federico Franzini, *Descrittione di Roma antica e moderna* (Rome, Franzini-Fei: 1643) 744 (with the permission of the Bibliotheca Hertziana, Rome).

the ponte Sisto would now walk along the opposite riverbank along Via Lungara to the Vatican. The bridge thus paved the way for future urban development of both Via della Lungara and Via Giulia in the following decades.[14]

Preparations for the construction of the new bridge commenced soon after the pope was elected. Funding for the new bridge was secured from fines and the *gabella studii*, or the budget of the university.[15] Construction material came from ancient buildings, especially *spolia* from the amphitheatre of Domitian in Piazza Navona, which was being demolished at the time to accommodate the weekly markets on Wednesday.[16] By March 1473 the riverbanks were cleared, and on 29 April of that year, the foundation stone of the new bridge was laid. The diary of Stefano Infessura recounts that an illustrious company gathered at the Tiber to witness Pope Sixtus IV in person laying the foundation stone. And along with that stone, the pope also deposited some gold portrait medals:

> Accompanied by four cardinals and many bishops, Pope Sixtus went from his palace in Trastevere [presumably the palazzo di S. Salvatore in Onda] to the riverbank, where he had planned to rebuild the bridge; and he went down to the river and placed within the foundations a square stone with the following inscription: 'SIXTUS QUARTUS PONT. MAX. FECIT FIERI SUB ANNO DOMINI 1473'. Behind that stone, the pope placed a number of gold medals with his portrait, and then he had the bridge built, which from that moment onwards was no longer known as '*ponte Rotto*', because there had been a bridge before, which was broken, but as '*ponte Sisto*', as recall the inscriptions in place.[17]

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[14] Ackerman J., "The Planning of Renaissance Rome 1450–1580", in Ramsey P.A. (ed.), *Rome in the Renaissance. The City and the Myth* (Binghampton: 1982) 3–17.

[15] Esch, "Il Giubileo di Sisto IV" 111–112; Blondin, "Power Made Visible" 9. The *gabella studii* contributed 2,652 *scudi* to the restoration of the Aqua Virgo and 2,663 *scudi* to the construction of ponte Sisto.

[16] Gargano M., "Ponte Sisto a Roma, nuove acquisizioni (1473–1475)", *Quaderni dell'Istituto di Storia dell'architettura* 21 (1994) 29–38.

[17] Stefano Infessura, *Diario della città di Roma di Stefano Infessura scribasenato*, ed. O. Tommasini (Rome: 1980) 76: 'Papa Sixto con quattro cardinali et molti vescovi si conferì da palazzo in Trastevere et a ponte Rotto, canto lo fiume, dove lui haveva destinato reconciare detto ponte, et descese allo fiume, et misse nelli fondamenti una pietra quatra dove stava scritto 'SIXTUS QUARTUS PONT. MAX. FECIT FIERI SUB ANNO DOMINI 1473'. Dereto ad quella pietra, misse lo papa certe medaglie d'oro, colla soa testa, et po fece edificare quello ponte, lo quale da lì in poi non fu chiamato più ponte Rotto, perchè lì vi era lo ponte prima ma era rotto, ma ponte Sixto, come dicono le lettere lì scritte'.

While, heaven prevent, we may safely assume that the foundation stone and portrait medals are still in place, the portrait medals in question are well known, since they circulated widely among humanists and courtiers [Fig. 2]. Though not signed, the medals are attributed to an artist well-connected to the papal court and humanist circles, who in emulation of classical art had taken on the name Lysippus the Younger and who only recently has been identified as Hermes Flavius De' Bonis.[18] The medal in question shows the portrait of the pope wearing a *piviale* decorated with Della Rovere oak leafs and acorns and a large *formale*. Around him runs the legend 'SIXTUS IV PONT MAX SACRI CULTOR'.[19] The reverse side shows ponte Sisto with its characteristic four arches and massive *occhialone*, along with the legend 'CURA RERUM PUBLICARUM' ('out of care for public welfare'): an obvious reference to the much longed-for *Renovatio Urbis* during the pontificate of Sixtus IV.

While construction would continue for several more years, by 1475 ponte Sisto was ready for use. Its inauguration is shown on a monumental fresco in the Ospedale di S. Spirito in Sassia near St Peter's [Fig. 3]. While the construction is in full swing, the architect of the bridge, nowadays identified as Meo da Caprino, and his assistants offer the pope the plan of the new bridge.[20] The fresco with the inauguration of ponte Sisto is part of a large cycle of 46 frescoes, never finished, that stretches over the two walls of the Hospital's ward, or Corsia Sistina, reaching the impressive length of 126 meters.[21] The hospital of

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[18] Pfisterer U., *Lysippus und seine Freunde. Liebesgaben und Gedächtnis im Rom der Renaissance, oder: Das erste Jahrhundert der Medaille* (Berlin: 2008).

[19] The title 'sacri cultor' is most rare already in antiquity, appearing only once in a letter written by Ovid during his exile to King Cotys VIII in Thracia. Ovid called the King a 'sacri cultor', because he was dedicated to the art of poetry, like himself: Ovid, *Epistulae ex Ponto* II 9, 64. Not being documented in antiquity, the combination of *Pontifex Maximus* and *Sacri Cultor* ('protector of sacred matters') must be a renaissance invention. A few years earlier, the combination had been used for the coronation medal of Sixtus IV, also designed by Lysippus: Weiss R., *The Medals of Pope Sixtus IV 1471–1484* (Rome: 1961) 13–18.

[20] On the authorship and building history of ponte Sisto: Gargano, "Ponte Sisto".

[21] Howe E.D., *Art and Culture at the Sistine Court. Platina's Life of Sixtus IV and the Frescoes of the Hospital of Santo Spirito* (Vatican City: 2005); Cassiani M.A., "L'ospedale di Santo Spirito in Sassia. Cultura francescana e devozione nel ciclo pittorico della corsia sistina", in Benzi F. (ed.), *Sisto IV. Le arti a Roma nel Primo Rinascimento* (Rome: 2000) 166–173. Works on the Ospedale continued well into 1478. With the bull *Illius qui pro Dominici* of that year, Sixtus IV founded the chivalric order of the Knights of S. Spirito in Sassia, of which the pope and all cardinals became members, increasing the prestige of the order.

Fig. 2. (a–b) Lysippus the Younger [Hermes Flavius De' Bonis], *Portrait Medal of Pope Sixtus IV with the Ponte Sisto*, 1473 [not dated]. Bronze, diameter 40 mm. Berlin, Staatliche Museen, 1821 7116 (with permission).

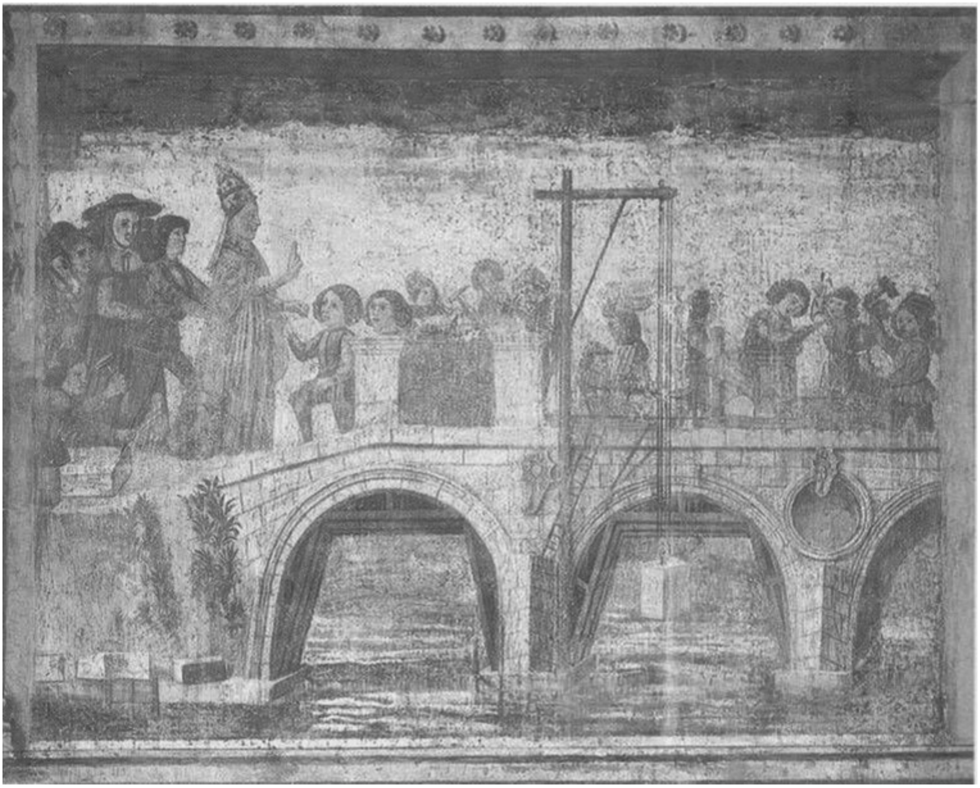

Fig. 3. *Pope Sixtus IV Inaugurates Ponte Sisto in 1475*, 1477–1478. Fresco, Corsia Sistina, Ospedale di S. Spirito in Sassia, Rome (photo: author).

S. Spirito had a long and venerable history going back to the eighth century. Dedicated to the achievements of Sixtus IV, the vast fresco cycle in the Corsia Sistina represented amongst other the history of the Hospital, its refoundation by Sixtus IV, while it proudly canvased the urbanistic projects of the Sistine pontificate, such as the construction of Ponte Sisto, S. Maria del Popolo, S. Maria della Pace, and the visit of foreign dignitaries to Rome.[22]

[22] The frescoes in the Corsia Sistina were painted by various unknown masters from Latium and Umbria – in a completely different league when compared to the renowned painters employed a few years later in the decoration of the Sistine chapel in the Vatican palace. Both frescoes and inscriptions were often repainted, Howe, *Art and Culture* 89–90.

Besides, each fresco had a classicizing inscription, written in large letters for better legibility, that had been invented by humanist Bartolomeo Sacchi il Platina (1421–1481).[23] Having studied with Vittorino da Feltre in Mantua, Platina had come to Rome in 1462 in the retinue of Cardinal Francesco Gonzaga. After periods of hardship for Platina and his friends during the pontificate of Paul II (r. 1464–1471), the future looked bright again once Sixtus IV was elected. Platina was most instrumental in tailoring the image of the Della Rovere pontificate, composing a most flattering biography of the new pope in his *Historia de vitis Romanorum Pontificum*, a collection of papal biographies. He also composed a great number of inscriptions *all'antica* for monuments of the Sistine pontificate, including those of the Corsia Sistina. Platina's inscription accompanying ponte Sisto in the Ospedale di S. Spirito, definitely hailed the bridge as a new foundation:

> Pontem quoque quem merito ruptum appellabant ad utilitatem populi Romani peregrinaeque multitudinis ad Iubilaeum venturae a fundamentis magna cura et impensa restituit.[24]

The inscription in the Corsia is repeated almost *verbatim* in one of the three inscriptions that once adorned the ponte Sisto, which were also all invented by Platina [Fig. 4]. Executed in exceptionally beautiful classicizing lettering, they were removed for the restorations in the twentieth century and are now on display in Palazzo Braschi, or Museo di Roma.[25]

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[23] As reward for his loyalty and as acknowledgement for his great intellect, Sixtus IV appointed Platina as prefect of the Vatican Library in 1475. Howe, *Art and Culture*; Bauer S., *The Censorship and Fortuna of Platina's Lives of the Popes in the Sixteenth Century* (Turnhout: 2006).

[24] Howe, *Art and Culture* 195. 'He [the pope] founded the bridge, which the people called 'broken', from its foundations and with his own expenses for the benefit of both the Roman people and the numerous pilgrims of the Jubilee'.

[25] 'Xystus IIII, pont(ifex) max(imus), / ad utilitatem p(opuli) Ro(mani) peregrinaeque multi /tudinis ad iubileum venturae pontem / hunc quem merito Ruptum vocabant a fun/damentis magna cura et impensa resti/tuit Xystumque suo de nomine appellari / voluit'; see Caldelli M.L., "Di giubileo in giubileo. Le iscrizioni di Ponte Sisto", *Epigraphica* 63 (2001): 159–163.

Fig. 4. *Inscription Ponte Sisto*, Rome, ca. 1475 (photo: author).

Portrait Medals

Compared to the inclusion of the bridge in the fresco cycle of the Corsia Sistina and the celebratory inscriptions of Platina, most instrumental in turning the foundation of the bridge into an emblem of the *Renovatio Urbis* were perhaps the portrait medals figuring Ponte Sisto [Fig. 2]. Not only were they deposited along with the foundation stone, they also, quite exceptionally, made their appearance in other media. Some leather bindings of books in the Vatican Library that belonged to Sixtus IV bore an impression of the portrait medal.[26] The portrait medals with ponte Sisto were also included in two illuminated frontispieces of luxury manuscripts dedicated to Pope Sixtus IV and today still in the Vatican library. One of the manuscripts is Ptolomy's *Almagest*, the other a translation in Latin of the pseudo-Aristotelian treatise *De Historia animalium* by the Greek humanist Theodoro Gaza (d. 1475). Besides a wealth of Della Rovere heraldry, the first page of this translation shows the portrait medal of Sixtus IV in the initial capital, and its obverse side with the bridge at the top of the page [Fig. 5].[27]

At the time, portrait medals were still a fairly recent invention, generally attributed to the Italian artist Pisanello (1395–1445). Unlike coinage, the new medium of portrait medals was not bound by preestablished measurements, weight or materials. Only sovereign rulers with right of coinage could issue coins, but virtually anybody could commission portrait medals: humanists, aristocratic ladies, clergymen and ambitious rulers, either enjoying or lacking the right of coinage.

As is obvious from their form and materiality, portrait medals obviously had their origin in the appetite for classical coins, which were eagerly collected and studied as tangible memories of the classical past. King Alfonso the Magnanimous of Naples (d. 1458), for instance, never traveled without his collection of imperial coins, which served as constant inspiration 'to achieve great things'.[28] Classical coins also made for highly appreciated gifts in humanist circles: quite famously,

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[26] Weiss, *The Medals of Sixtus IV*.

[27] Blondin, "Power Made Visible" 17–20; Alexander J., *The Painted Page. Italian Renaissance Book Illumination 1450–1550* (Munich: 1994). The other manuscript contains Ptolomy's *Almagest.*

[28] Antonio Beccadelli Il Panormita, *De dictis et factis Alphonsi Regis Libri Quatuor* (Basel, no editor: 1538), Book II, 12: 'Numismata illustrium imperatorum, sed Caesaris ante alios, per universam Italiam summo studio conquisita, in eburnea arcula, a

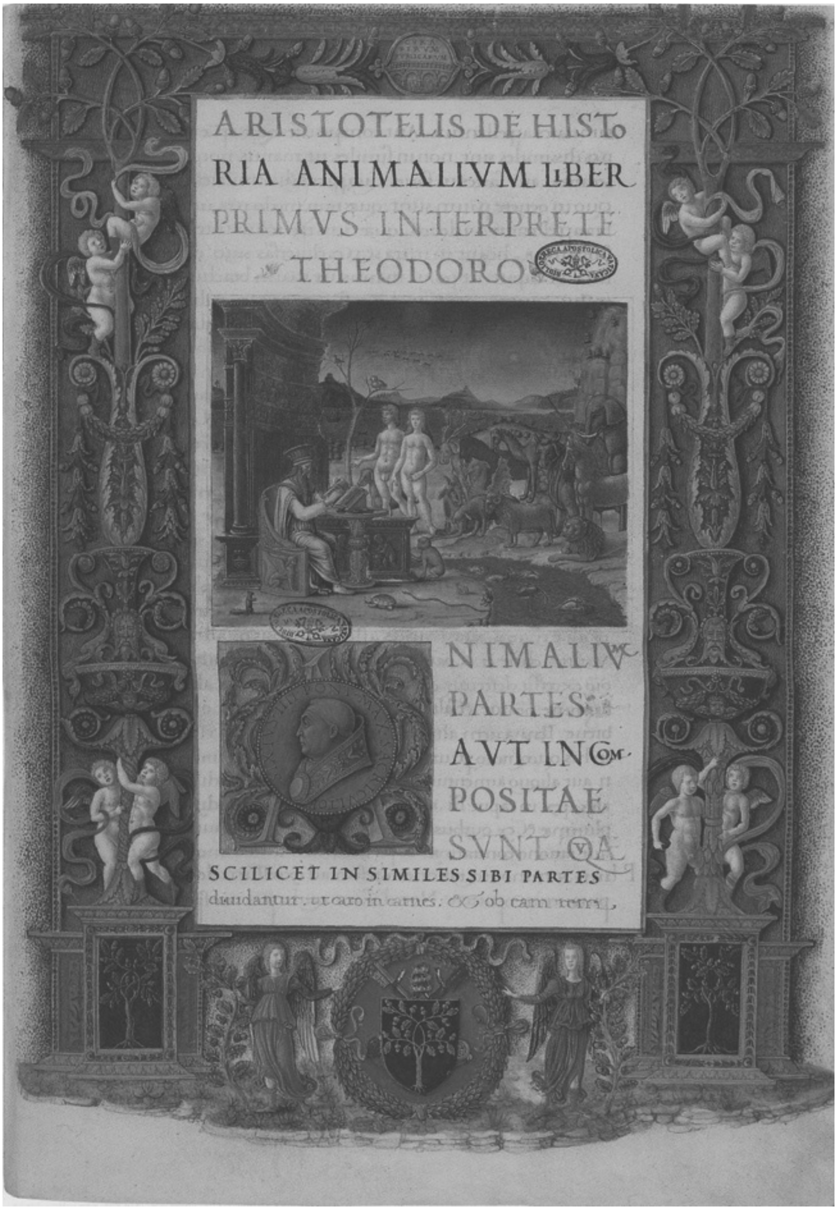

Fig. 5. Theodoro Gaza's translation of Aristotle's *De Historia Animalium*, ca 1474. Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, cod. Vat. Lat. 2094, fol. 8r.

Petrarch had given silver and gold coins of Emperor Augustus to Charles IV of Bohemia (1316–1378) during their meeting in Mantua in 1354. The coins should remind Charles IV to aspire to imperial virtue and unite Italy, as Charles was on his way to Rome to be crowned emperor.[29] Like ancient coins, portrait medals were actively collected and exchanged among networks of courtiers and humanists. Combining word and image in a most appealing and condensed form, portrait medals were appreciated as ideal carriers of complex concepts and ideas. Easily and relatively cheaply reproduced, they became in no time the absolute *must have* among ambitious patrons, humanists and courtiers, cherished in the *studioli* of humanists.[30]

Building Deposits, Portraits and Presence

Circulating in humanist circles and showing up in manuscript illuminations and book bindings, we have seen earlier that at the foundation ceremony of ponte Sisto, some portrait medals were deposited, along with the foundation stone. The custom to do so was an invention of Sigismondo Malatesta (d. 1468), the infamous warlord of Rimini.[31] Eager to establish his dominion over Rimini, a papal fief, and lacking the right of coinage, Sigismondo had embraced patronage of portrait medals as no other before him, commissioning at least thirty different ones in his career, most of them by his court artist Matteo de' Pasti.[32] At some point in the 1440s, Sigismondo had started to deposit hundreds of his portrait medals in the foundations and walls of his building projects. While most of them were deposited in his residence Castel Sismondo and the church of S. Francesco, or 'Tempio Malatestiano',

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rege, pene dixerim religionissime asservabantur. Quibus [...] mirum in modum sese delectari et quodammodo inflammari ad virtutem et gloriam inquiebat'.

[29] Attwood P., *Italian Medals in British Museum Collections c. 1530–1600*, 2 vols. (London: 2003); Syson L. – Gordon D., *Pisanello. Painter to the Renaissance Court* (London: 2001).

[30] Ibidem; Pollard J.G. (ed.), *Renaissance Medals*, 2 vols. (Washington, D.C.: 2007); Pfisterer, *Lysippus und seine Freunden.*

[31] Jones P.D., *The Malatesta of Rimini and the Papal States. A Political History* (London: 1974); Woods-Marden J., "How Quattrocento Princes Used Art. Sigismondo Pandolfo Malatesta of Rimini and 'Cose Militari'", *Renaissance Studies* 3 (1989) 387–413.

[32] Restani B., "Le medaglie di Sigismondo Pandolfo Malatesta", *Studi Romagnoli* 48 (1997) 331–364.

in Rimini, he also deposited them in a wider territory, in fortifications of Cesena, Senigallia, Montalto and Cola Cavuto. This way, Sigismondo distributed his agency over a wide territory.[33]

The practice to deposit objects in the foundations of a new architectural structure was of course nothing new. Many cultures, both of the present and the past, share the belief that the act of building somehow disturbs the soil and its chtonic powers. To restore balance, some sacrifice must be done in order to appease the gods and implore longevity for both the structure and its inhabitants.[34]

The ultimate building gift, that of a living human being, seems to belong to a distant and cruel past.[35] Remnants, however, still linger in Eastern European folk-tales about legendary master-builder Manole. Local variations apart, the story unfolds as follows. Manole and his workmen do not make progress with their building project, be it the Arta bridge in Greece or the Monastery of Curtea de Arges in Romania. Every morning, they find undone what they had accomplished the day before. Manole then understands that a sacrifice has to be made, namely the very first woman to present herself at the building site the following morning. Of course, this fate befalls the young and pretty wife of Manole. To everybody's dismay, she is walled in alive in a column of the structure. In some versions of the legend, the wife or daughter asks for an opening in the bricks so that she can continue to nurse her child.[36]

Legends like these seem to work according to the premise of 'similia similibus curantur', or 'like cures like', also the core principle of homeopathy and alternative medicine.[37] The building and earth are seen as a living entity, severely disturbed by the construction activities. To restore balance, the sacrifice of a living young woman or child is needed, to prevent the structure from falling into ruin.[38]

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[33] Schraven, M., "Out of Sight, Yet Still in Place. On the Use of Italian Renaissance Portrait Medals as Building Deposits", *Res* 55–56 (2009): 182–193.

[34] See also the contributions of Berthold Hub and Dagmar Germonprez in this volume.

[35] Wessing R. – Jordaan R., "Death at the Building Site. Construction Sacrifice in South-East Asia", *History of Religions* 37 (1997) 101–121. I thank Jan Bremmer for this reference.

[36] Dundes A. (ed.), *The Walled-Up Wife. A Case-Book* (Madison: 1996).

[37] Frazer J.G., *The Golden Bough. A Study in Comparative Religion*, 2 vols. (New York: 1890), chapter 3.

[38] Bobach R., "Zur Geschichte der Grundsteinlegung", *Acta Ethnographica Hungarica* 49 (2004) 59–99, here 80.

The inclusion of a portrait medal of coin with a portrait in the building deposits is in a way relate to this practice. In the pre-Cartesian period, lifelike portraits were generally praised for their ability to make present the sitter tot the eyes of the beholder. Like portraits on imperial coins were admired for their ability to install virtue in the beholder, portraits were habitually visited, dressed, defamed and kissed, as if they were the real person.[39] In all layers of classical society, imperial coins were considered as powerful apotropaic and taumaturgic talismans, which were carried round the neck to enhance their efficacy. This belief in the magical properties continued despite the advance of Christianity.[40] Apart from the magical properties attributed to the portrait, humanists also claimed that they were reviving ancient examples, referring to archaeological evidence: coins were being found everywhere in the soil of Rome.[41] If they were found under a column or in a grave, it was clear that the coins had been intentionally deposited and not lost by accident.

The deposition at foundation ceremonies in antiquity had also an authoritative precedent in classical literature, most appealing to the Italian humanists. In his *Histories*, Tacitus famously recounted the foundation ceremonies of the new Temple of Jupiter Maximus on the Capitol in Rome on 21 June 70 CE. After the purifications and libations at the foundation pit, city officials, priests and knights started to drag the massive foundation stone ('saxum ingens') to its place. At the end of the ceremony, 'contributions of gold and silver and virgin coins, never melted in a furnace, but still in their natural state, were showered on the foundations'.[42] Self-conscious patrons in the renaissance city courts adopted this appealing model, showering coins during the foundation ceremonies. At the conclusion of the foundation ceremony of the fortification walls of Rimini in 1431, Galeotto Roberto Malatesta threw in many coins ('molti danari') in the foundations. Similarly, Marquis

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[39] Shepherd R. – Maniura R. (eds.), *Presence. The Inherence of the Prototype Within Images and Other Objects* (Aldershot: 2006); Cole M.W. – Zorach R. (eds.), *The Idol in the Age of Art. Objects, Devotions, and the Early Modern World* (Aldershot: 2009).

[40] Maguire H., "Magic and Money in the Early Middle Ages", *Speculum* 72,4 (1997) 1037–1054.

[41] Cellini G.A., "Notizie di rinvenimenti monetali a Roma nel XVI e XVII secolo", *Numismatica e antichità. Quaderni ticinesi* 30 (2001) 339–360.

[42] Tacitus, *Histories* 4.53; Schraven M., "Foundation Rituals in Renaissance Italy. The Case of the Torre Bentivoglio in Bologna", in Michaels A. (ed.), *Ritual Dynamics and the Science of Ritual*, 5 vols. (Wiesbaden: 2010) vol. V, 349–357.

Ludovico Gonzaga threw in gold and silver coins into the foundation trench of a new city wall for Mantua in 1449. At that time, Sigismondo Malatesta had already been depositing great quantities of his portrait medals in the walls and foundations of his buildings.[43]

Other ambitious and self-conscious patrons soon followed suit, among them Pope Paul II Barbo (r. 1464–1471) in Rome, at the time the owner of the greatest collections of ancient coins and gems and a renowned expert in numismatics. Besides depositing them in building projects both in Rome and in fortifications in the Papal States, by far and large most portrait medals were deposited in the foundations and walls of Palazzo San Marco or Venezia, the residence the pope had started to build while still a cardinal in 1455. During restructuring of Palazzo Venezia and its area at the beginning of the twentieth century, hundreds of medals were found in the walls and foundations of the palace, evenly distributed every few meters or so. Interestingly enough, the medals had been coated in wax to protect them from humidity and had been placed in groups of three or five in sealed terracotta vases.[44] This way, the building deposits were preserved for some distant future, when the buildings would have collapsed, to secure the Fama of the patron. Humanists clearly associated the distribution and deposition of portrait medals with desire of fame, as documented in a letter written to Sigismondo in 1453:

> I witnessed that, in order to perpetuate your name, by means of the work and diligence of Matteo de' Pasti from Verona great numbers of bronze, gold and silver medals [imagines], that were either – almost hidden – deposited either in foundation pits within walls, or sent off to other courts.[45]

The portrait medals of Sigismondo Malatesta and Paul II had been deposited at various stages of the building process, in any case not

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[43] Schraven, "Foundation Rituals" 347.

[44] Schraven, "Out of Sight"; Satzinger G., "Baumedaillen. Formen und Funktionen. Bemerkungen zur Geschichte eines päpstliches Ehrentitels", in Satzinger G. (ed.), *Die Renaissance- Medaille in Italien und Deutschland* (Münster: 2004) 97–133. See also the contributions of Hub and Germonprez in this volume.

[45] Cesare Clementini, *Raccolto istorico della fonditione di Riminio e dell'origine e vite dei Malatesti* (Rimini, per il Sembeni: 1627; reprint Bologna: 1969) 386: 'Ad quandam tui nominis immortalitem, Matthaei Pasti Veronensis opera industriaque vidi aere, auro et argento innumeras quasi coelatas imagines, quae vel in defossis locis dispersae, vel muris intus locatae, vel ad exteras nationes transmissae sunt'; letter written by Timoteo Maffei of Verona to Sigismondo Malatesta in 1453.

at the laying of the first stone. The foundation ceremony of ponte Sisto in 1473 took the ritual to a different level: Sixtus himself deposited the portrait medals along with the foundation stone at the apex of the foundation ceremony, underlining his central role as founder of the new bridge. This would become the model for future foundation ceremonies.[46]

Pontifex Maximus

Both the portrait medals and the inscriptions on the ponte Sisto hailed Sixtus IV as 'Pontifex Maximus'. The learned humanists at the papal court, such as Platina, were well aware of the privileged status of the *pontifex maximus* in antiquity. Flavio Biondo (1392–1463) had outlined the importance of the supreme college of priests for Roman religion and society in his book *Roma Triumphans* of 1459.[47]

Since the term *pontifex maximus* goes back to archaic times, its etymology was already contested in the classical period. Today, most scholars seem to agree on the etymology proposed by Varro of *pons* ('bridge') + *facere* ('to make'). Accepting the derivation of Latin *pons* from Sanskrit *pánthās* ('road', 'pathway'), the *pontifex* also assumes the powers to indicate his people the right way, negotiating with the realm of the gods.[48]

Responsible for maintaining the *pax deorum*, the *pontifices* decided on all aspects of public and private religion, from the burial of the dead to the ceremonial calendar and the inclusion of foreign, non-Roman deities in state cults. Traditionally, the pontifical college also was entrusted with the care of the *pons Sublicius*, the oldest bridge over the Tiber, entirely constructed in wood and the protagonist in important rites of archaic origin, such as the *Argilli*, when the Vestal virgins threw straw puppets in the water to appease the river gods.[49]

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[46] See also the contribution of Berthold Hub.

[47] Flavio Biondo, *De Roma triumphante libri decem* (Basel, Officina Frobeniana: 1531) was completed in 1459.

[48] Hallett J.P., "Over Troubled Waters. The Meaning of the Title Pontifex", *Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association* 101 (1970) 219–227; Seppilli, *Le acque violate* 35–39.

[49] Van Haeperen F., *Le collège pontifical (3ème s.a.C.–4ème s.p.C.). Etudes d'archéologie et d'histoire anciennes* (Brussels: 2002); Seppilli, *Le acque violate* 21–50.

Traditionally instituted by Numa Pompilius, the office and title of supreme priest had been claimed by Emperor Augustus and all subsequent emperors. Only at the end of the fourth century, emperor Gratian (r. 375–383), a Christian, had refused it, considering it too much connected to the pagan cults. With this, the title of *pontifex maximus* fell in disuse for a period of almost one thousand years. Meanwhile, the title *pontifex* continued to be used. As the first Latin translations of the Gospels Christ was called '*pontifex*', a literal translation of the Greek 'archi-hereus' or 'high priest.' The title was also used throughout the Middle Ages to indicate bishops, including the bishop of Rome, who at times was called *summus pontifex*, but never *pontifex maximus*.[50]

This changed from the second half of the fifteenth century, when humanists had a renewed interest for the title, due in part because of their intensive study of ancient inscriptions found across the Roman Empire, but equally because the term replaced the medieval Latin word *papa*, hence of 'impure' derivation. In 1453, Pope Nicholas IV adopted the title for the first time in the inscription that commemorated the restoration of the Aqua Virgo, the present-day Trevi fountain, in which the pope was called *pon(tifex) max(imus)* [Fig. 1]. From the pontificate of Pius II (r. 1458–1464) onwards, popes used the title of *pontifex maximus* also on portrait medals and coins, including the medals of Sixtus IV that commemorated his coronation and the foundation of ponte Sisto.[51]

The Re-foundation of Rome

This renewed spirit of promise of renaissance Rome was not lost on humanists like Biondo and Platina, who were attracted from all over Italy to the burgeoning job prospects of the rapidly growing papal bureaucracy.[52] Humanists frequented what later has been called the *Roman Academy*: a network of dedicated humanists who studied the

[50] Kajanto I., "Pontifex Maximus as the Title of the Pope", *Arctos* 15 (1981) 37–52.
[51] Ibidem.
[52] D'Amico J.F., *Renaissance Humanism in Papal Rome. Humanists and Churchmen on the Eve of the Reformation* (Baltimore: 1991).

Roman culture in its widest possible definition, ranging from poetry, dressing in toga, to archaeological fieldtrips to the catacombs.[53]

The *sodalitas* regularly convened at palaces of cardinals or at the home of Pomponio Leto, a teacher at Rome's University and the undisputed central figure in this network. During their meetings, the humanists discussed classical authors, and of course classicizing poems and orations composed by the academicians themselves.[54] The reclaiming of Roman culture went far: members adopted Greek or Latin names, and Pomponio Leto was indeed referred to as *pontifex maximus*. Rather informal and far from institutionalized, much remains unknown about the gatherings and institutional history of the network, including the disruptive period during the pontificate of Paul II. Charged with treason, many members of the network in the 1460s, among them Platina, ended up in prison in Castel S. Angelo.[55]

As the humanists associated with the network were interested in every aspect of Roman culture, they also famously celebrated the *Parilia*, a Roman festival dating back to the archaic period, well before the foundation of Rome. During this agricultural rite, shepherds and sheep were purified by jumping over fuming bonfires, while offerings were being made to the deity Pales. By the end of the late Republic, the *Parilia* had become associated with the birthday of Rome. As recounted by Ovid in his elegiac poem the *Fasti*, Romulus was believed to have arrived in 'Rome' during the *Parilia*, founding Rome and killing his brother.[56] Over the centuries, Julius Caesar had endowed the *Parilia* with games, and Hadrian changed its name into the *Romaeae*, emphasizing once more the link of the festival with the mythical founder Romulus.[57]

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[53] Beer S. de, "The 'Roman Academy' of Pomponio Leto. From an Informal Humanist Network to the Institution of a Literary Society", in Dixhoorn A. van – Speakman Sutch S. (eds.), *The Reach of the Republic of Letters. Literary and Learned Societies in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe* (Leiden: 2008) 181–218.

[54] Among the treatises of Pomponio Leto are *De Romanorum magistratibus, sacerdotiis, iurisperitis et legibus libellus* and *De romanae urbis antiquitate*; Beer de, "The Roman Academy" 193–195; Cassiani C. – Chiabò, M. (eds.), *Pomponio Leto e la prima Accademia Romana* (Rome: 2007). On the alleged plot against Pope Paul II, see D'Elia A.F., *A Sudden Terror. The Plot to Murder the Pope in Renaissance Rome* (Cambridge, Mass.: 2009).

[55] Ibidem.

[56] Fraschetti A., *The Foundation of Rome* (Edinburgh: 2005).

[57] Beard M. – North J.A. – Prince S.R.F., *Religion of Rome. A History* (Cambridge – New York: 1998) 174–178.

Highly interested in the history of Rome, members of the 'Roman Academy' famously celebrated the *Parilia* as well from at least the 1470s, and perhaps earlier. They would organize dinner parties and poetry contests at the house of Leto, celebrate a mass and delivering various orations in the basilica of S. Maria Maggiore. Leto had taken great efforts in calculating the right day of the Parilia, and depending on the method, he arrived at 20 or 21 April.[58] Is it then a pure coincidence then that Sixtus chose the date of 29 April for laying the first stone of the ponte Sisto? A few years later, the pope would make the *dies natalis* of Rome an official feast, celebrated at the Capitol in presence of the entire papal court. By then, Leto had transformed his academy into a religious *sodalitas*, dedicated to the saints Victor, Fortunatus and Genesius, whose feastday is on 21 April.[59]

This preoccupation with the *Renovatio Urbis*, the refoundation of Rome, is also evident in the work of the humanist Aurelio Brandolini. Blind from birth and nicknamed 'Lippo', Brandolini had arrived in Rome in 1480, well after the Jubilee. He had immediately become a member of the inner circle of the Academy, and had been present at the funeral of Bartolomeo Platina in September 1481.[60]

Between the years 1480 and 1482, Brandolini composed 33 epigrams on the urban renovation of Sixtus IV, which he bundled under the name *De laudibus beatissimi Sixti IV*. Among the poems are epigrams on the Vatican palace, on its library, and on the new roads laid out by the pope in Rome.[61] In these poems, Sixtus is time and again presented as the restorer of Rome and put on the same line as its legendary founder Romulus and Emperor Augustus. In the poem tellingly entitled 'De Urbe Romae ab Sixto iterum condita', 'About Rome refounded by Sixtus', the pope is said to surpass Romulus and all other benefactors: for here is Sixtus, 'the father of Rome, its god, its lord'.

> Iussit Romam, immo condidit ipse novam
> reddidit hic urbi formam veteresque ruinas
> substulit. […]

[58] Jacks P., *The Antiquarian and the Myth of Antiquity. The Origins of Rome in Renaissance Thought* (Cambridge – New York: 1993) 148–153; Beer De, "The Roman Academy" 217. The first time we learn about a renaissance celebration of the Parilia is 1478, but in all probability, it occurred earlier.

[59] Ibidem.

[60] Lee, 113.

[61] Müntz E., *Les Arts à la cour des papes pendant les XV et XVI siècles* (Paris: 1882) 56–203.

Quodque alii atque alii lustris facere trecentis
condidit hic lustris omne duobus opus.
Romule, cede pater, veteres concedite cuncti:
Hic Urbis pater est, hic deus, hic dominus.[62]

The ambitious *Renovatio Romae* program pursued during the pontificate of Sixtus IV aspired to restore the city of Rome as the capital of Christianity, the residence of the popes. In line with humanist interest in classical culture, it looked at classical Rome for a model of splendor and magnificence. The foundation of a much-needed new bridge in the city's infrastructure became an emblem of the project of urban and institutional reform. The recently invented portrait medal distributed the image of the emblematic foundation, representing the portrait of the founder along with an image of the new bridge. The medals were distributed among friends and dependants, as tangible tokens of a relation to the pope, while the pope himself had deposited some medals along with the foundation stone in a public foundation ceremony. Humanist courtiers happily elaborated on the foundation of the bridge and its wider implications for the renewal of Rome and their patron.

[62] Ibidem, 59: 'He [Sixtus IV] ordered, or rather rebuilt himself a new Rome, subjecting the old ruins to a new form […]. Whereas it took others 1500 years to accomplish this, he founded the entire city in just ten years. Romulus, yield your place, all you old fathers, yield: for here is the Father of Rome, its god, its lord'.

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II. (RE)FOUNDATION AS PURIFICATION AND APPROPRIATION

A MEANS FOR THE PROJECTION OF 'SOFT POWER': 'SPANISH' CHURCHES AT ROME 1469–1527

Piers Baker-Bates

On Sunday 1 February 1492 at the church of S. Giacomo degli Spagnoli, Pope Innocent VIII celebrated a solemn mass to commemorate the capitulation of the city of Granada to the King and Queen of 'Spain', Ferdinand and Isabella, on 2 January that same year:

> The Sunday after the feast of the Purification of Our Lord, the Pope was at the church of *Santiago de los Españoles*; and as this was a day of great rejoicing, he was in a cart accompanied by all the Cardinals, and there as the Head of the Universal Church, he gave thanks to our Lord for the triumph of his Holy Catholic Faith.[1]

Besides this Mass and other similarly ephemeral celebrations here and elsewhere, the fall of Granada was to be celebrated at the church of S. Giacomo in perpetuity through an inscription on one of the pilasters of the nave. Now lost, this stated that it was placed ten years later in 1502; furthermore it promised a plenary indulgence to whomsoever should present themselves at the church on the feast of St James, 25 July, each year.[2]

This and similar public events following the fall of Granada encapsulated the fundamental role these 'Spanish' churches at Rome had come to play in the ritual legitimation of the ever increasing power of the newly united Spanish monarchy on the Italian Peninsula.[3] It is to elucidate the precise significance of these churches role as the setting for what has recently and justly been described as a 'vero e proprio

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[1] Zurita J., *Anales de la Corona de Aragón*, 6 vols. (Zaragoza: 1610) vol. IV 370–371: 'El domingo después de la fiesta de la Purificación de Nuestra Señora, fue el Papa a la Iglesia de Santiago de los Españoles; y porque a quel dia era de muy grande lluvia, fue en un carro acompañado de todo el colegio, y allí se dieron por la cabeça de la universal Iglesia, gracias a Nuestro Señor, por el ensalzamiento de su Santa Fe Cathólica'.

[2] Forcella V., *Iscrizioni delle chiese e d'altri edifici di Roma dal secolo XI fino ai giorni nostri*, 14 vols. (Rome: 1869–1884) vol. III, 221.

[3] Cruciani F., *Teatro nel Rinascimento Roma 1450–1550* (Rome: 1983) 228–239.

teatro urbano' that this essay will be dedicated.[4] First, however, some background is necessary to explain how and why they came into existence in the first place.

It was from at least 1469 onwards, the year the marriage took place at Valladolid between Crown Prince Ferdinand of Aragon and Isabella, sister and possible heir to King Henry IV of Castile, that their two kingdoms were to be on the ascendant in Europe and especially within the Italian Peninsula.

This increase in Spanish power in Italy was manifested in the insertion or accretion of a number of Spanish churches and other institutions throughout the Italian Peninsula but especially at Rome. Each of these individual cases often involved elaborate ceremonial in their foundation and dedication that manifested in a manner obvious to the intended audience the growing power of the Spanish Crown outside the Iberian Peninsula; furthermore the deliberate orchestration of such events comes across in contemporary descriptions. Even though, for much of Ferdinand and Isabella's joint reigns at least, the need to settle the internal affairs of their twin kingdoms meant that this issue of supremacy in Europe may not have seemed an immediate priority and could even have remained in the balance with France at first taking the initiative in expansion into Italy.[5]

With the accession, however, of Ferdinand and Isabella's grandson, as Charles I, to the joint thrones of Aragon and Castile in 1516 and his subsequent election as the Holy Roman Emperor, Charles V, in 1519, the predominance of what shall be called for convenience from now on, Spain, in Italy throughout the sixteenth century was assured. Consistent historical reference to this figure as Charles V, and to not his Spanish title of Charles I, has only obscured the centrality and necessity of his Spanish Kingdoms as a foundation for his imperial power. Chronologically, this essay will focus on the earlier years of the development of Spanish influence on the Italian Peninsula that took place between the marriage of Ferdinand and Isabella in 1469 and the sack of Rome by the troops of their grandson, Charles I and V, in 1527.

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[4] Vaquero Piñiero M., "I funerali romani del principe Giovanni e della regina Isabella di Castiglia. I rituali politici al servizio della monarchia spagnola", in Chiabò M. – Maddalo S. – Miglio M. – Oliva A.M. (eds.), *Rome di fronte all'Europa al tempo di Alessandro VI*, 3 vols. (Rome: 2001) vol. II, 647.

[5] Contamine P. – Guillaume J. (eds.), *Louis XII en Milanais. Colloque International d'Etudes Humanistes 30 Juin–3 Juillet 1998* (Paris: 2003).

Spanish power on the Italian Peninsula was in fact long standing – especially in the south – but it was only after 1469 that it had begun to strengthen and to expand. The Aragonese had ruled in Sicily since 1282 and had conquered the kingdom of Naples itself in 1442, the latter was then briefly ruled by a junior branch of the royal house from 1458 until reabsorbed into Aragon itself by 1504.[6] Ferdinand and then Charles I and V and their respective ministers all recognised the centrality of this foothold on the Italian peninsula for the scattered territories that constituted their realms. Mercurio Gattinara for one, Charles's first long term appointment as grand chancellor, constantly re-iterated the fact that Italy should be regarded as the principal foundation of his empire.

With Charles's accession as Holy Roman Emperor this had become only one strand of a much larger project that has been justly termed a ‘revival of Ghibellinism’.[7] This meant the further extension of Spanish power into the traditional *regnum italicum* – that is the comity of states in the centre and north of the peninsula. The importance of manifesting that power through elaborate ceremonial was the natural concomitant. At the same time it should not be forgotten, however, that even by as late as 1527, ‘Spain’ itself should still be regarded as a loose union of the kingdoms of Castile and of Aragon and not yet as an entirely homogeneous entity. After Isabella's death in 1504, Ferdinand had remarried with Germaine de Foix, joint heiress of the Viscount of Narbonne. This latter territory was only incorporated into France in 1507 and Germaine's brother, Gaston, served as a French general in the Italian wars.[8]

It is instead this term ‘nation’ that is used in contemporary documents when referring to Spanish and other foreign churches at Rome but that has a far more restrictive and specific meaning than in contemporary

[6] For the initial conquest of Naples see Ryder A.F.C., *Alfonso the Magnanimous, King of Aragon, Naples and Sicily (1396–1458)* (Oxford: 1990). For the expansion of the Spanish presence in the period under consideration in this contribution see the collection of essays Galasso G. – Hernando Sánchez C.J. (eds.), *El reino de Nápoles y la monarquía de España Entre agregación y conquista (1485–1535)* (Rome: 2004).

[7] Headley J.M., "The Habsburg World Empire and the Revival of Ghibellinism", in Wenzel S. (ed.), *Medieval and Renaissance Studies* 7 (1978) 93–127. See also Yates F.A., *Astraea The Imperial Theme in the Sixteenth Century* (London: 1975) 1–28.

[8] Michaud J. – Cabanis A. (eds.), *Histoire de Narbonne* (Toulouse: 1988). What would have happened to the joint inheritance of the Catholic Monarchs if Ferdinand and Germaine had had a child is an unanswerable but nonetheless interesting question to pose.

usage.[9] There is then a further difference that should be drawn between those Spaniards whose careers were entirely made at Rome and who became eventually more Roman than Iberian and others who, while receiving steady promotion within the church hierarchy, never actually came to the city. This is a distinction that can usually, but not always, be predicated upon the original influence these individuals had in their native locations.

For the purposes of this volume attention will be centred solely on 'Spanish' churches at Rome – as one way of limiting the almost boundless scope of any consideration of 'Spanish' ceremonial in Italy at this period. The city of Rome was described by King Ferdinand himself in a letter of 1504 to his then ambassador there, Don Francesco de Rojas, as the 'plaza del mundo'.[10] Given the numbers of individuals who could now define themselves as 'Spanish' in Italy and especially at Rome – and ranging from 1492 from the Pope himself to the most humble artisan – there was an equal need for institutions to support them. Already by 1469 there existed in Rome separate institutions for Castile, S. Giacomo degli Spagnoli, and for Aragon, S. Maria di Monserrato [Map 2].[11]

With the assumption of patronage by the Catholic Monarchs over the recently refounded Franciscan house of S. Pietro in Montorio in the 1480s an institution was created that would reflect the joint monarchy.[12] Not that S. Pietro ever, at least in the period under discussion, entirely replaced the older foundations. And, as well as the rebuilding

[9] This is the term used for example in Francesco Albertini, *Mirabilia Romae: Opusculum de mirabilibus novae et veteris urbis Romae* (Rome, Mazocchi: 1510).

[10] Rodríguez Villa A., *Don Francisco de Rojas Embajador de los Reyes Católicos. Noticia Biográfica y Documentos Históricos* (Madrid: 1896) 82.

[11] The basic works for the architecture of both these neglected churches remain the volumes dedicated to them in the series *Le chiese di Roma illustrate*: Fernández Alonso J., *S. Maria di Monserrato, Le chiese di Roma illustrate* 103 (Rome: 1968) and Russo F., *Nostra Signora del Sacro Cuore (Già S. Giacomo degli Spagnoli), Le chiese di Roma illustrate* 105 (Rome: 1969). There is also a sketchier outline in Tormo E., *Monumentos de españoles en Roma, y de portugueses y hispano-americanos* (Madrid: 1942) 57–117. The vicissitudes of their early history are described in Fernández Alonso J., "Las iglesias nacionales de España en Roma", *Anthologica Annua* 4 (1956) 9–96 and "Santiago de los Españoles, de Roma, en el siglo XVI", *Anthologica Annua* 6 (1958) 9–122. One remains reliant on the information contained and documents published in these currently as, and despite the best efforts of the author, the Archivio de la Obra Pia de España remains firmly closed.

[12] Cantatore F., *San Pietro in Montorio La chiesa dei Re Cattolici a Roma* (Rome: 2007).

Map 2. Plan of Rome with the Spanish churches. (1.) S. Giacomo degli Spagnoli in Piazza Navona; (2.) S. Maria in Monserrato; (3.) S. Pietro in Montorio and Tempietto. Giovanni Battista Nolli, *Nuova Pianta di Roma* (1748), detail.

of S. Pietro in Montorio, considerable work was undertaken at both of the other churches as well.

Assessing what the importance was of these three institutions in sixteenth-century Rome is now a difficult exercise. Only S. Pietro in Montorio retains any remains from the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. S. Maria di Monserrato is only open for Mass and was anyway heavily restored in the nineteenth century. The apse of S. Giacomo degli Spagnoli, the church having already been sold by the Spanish government in 1878 and re-dedicated as Nostra Signora del Sacro Cuore, was demolished as recently as 1938 to make way for Corso del Rinascimento. Even what is left is only a shell as the more significant surviving contents, which will be considered later in this essay, were transferred to S. Maria in Monserrato or elsewhere.[13] As will be discussed, this final twist of fate is ironic given the relative importance of the institutions previously.

Despite the importance of the ritual events associated with and orchestrated within these three churches – one indicator of the significance attached to them – and even more on their role in merely demonstrating the preponderant Spanish presence in the city, little research had been carried out until recently either on the development of national churches at Rome from the return of the papacy in 1421 or on the growth of Spanish power on the Italian Peninsula. Led by the work of Thomas Dandelet, however, interest in this latter subject has recently been growing; Dandelet concentrates, however, on high politics.[14]

He focuses for example on the relationships that developed between Charles I and V and his son Philip II and the various Popes, and not on such sidelines as those cultural manifestations that reflected the growing Spanish dominion at Rome. Furthermore Dandelet's research only begins at 1500 so passes lightly over the crucial early years of a growing Spanish predominance at Rome.[15] So while there may exist a skeleton of recent work, little detailed research has still been done on

[13] Russo, *Sacro Cuore* 81.

[14] Dandelet T., *Spanish Rome* (London – New Haven: 2001) and Dandelet T. – Marino J. (eds.), *Spain in Italy: Politics, Society and Religion* (Leiden: 2007).

[15] This earlier period has, however, been studied at least from an economic point of view in a number of stimulating works by Manuel Vaquero Piniero; some of these have been mentioned already or will be subsequently. It is just worth drawing attention here in particular to his *Viaggiatori spagnoli a Roma nel Rinascimento* (Bologna: 2001).

specific aspects – and it is one particular aspect of the Spanish presence at Rome that this essay will attempt to elucidate. The approach taken will refer both to contemporary accounts and to more modern research, and by extending into political, religious and art history, will form a holistic picture of the significance of these three churches for the 'Spanish' presence in Rome in these crucial years.

Origins

The dedication of both of the earlier foundations had already proclaimed their national affiliation, S. Giacomo (and S. Ildefonso) for the Castilians. St James the apostle had been the patron saint of Castile since the 're-discovery' of his body at Santiago de Compostella in the ninth century, while St Ildefonso was the leading native Castilian saint, a Visigoth, a scholar and Archbishop of Toledo who had died in the seventh century.

For the Catalans, S. Maria di Monserrato had an even more specific reference as the church had the same dedication as a major monastic shrine outside Barcelona. There in the year 880 or 888, in another ninth century 're-discovery' the image that became the black Virgin of Montserrat was found in a cave and a hermitage sprang up, to be replaced by a monastery in 1025 that had become the major shrine of Catalonia.[16] With the Catalan expansion in the Mediterranean in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, the cult of the Virgin of Montserrat had already become widely diffused in Italy – there were churches dedicated to her in all the major Italian centres. In one sign of the continuity of this cult, the church of S. Maria di Monserrato at Rome now contains an exact replica of the original image on the second altar to the left that was only gifted as recently as 1950.[17]

According to the Florentine priest Francesco Albertini, however: 'At the church of Saint James in the circus of the Flavians the Spanish nation solemnly celebrates the divine office each day with the greatest reverence'.[18] Albertini uses the word 'hyspanorum' here and is no

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[16] Abareda A.M., *Historia de Montserrat* (1931), ed. and rev. J. Massot i Muntaner (Montserrat: 1974).

[17] Fernández Alonso, *S. Maria di Monserrato* 94.

[18] Albertini, *Mirabilia Romae*: 'Ecclesia Sancti Iacobi in circo flammineo a natione hyspanorum divino officio solemniter quottidie veneratur maxima cum reverentia'.

more specific than that and he does not even refer to the 'church of St James of the Spanish Nation', but instead to 'St James in the circus of the Flavians'. This was the common way of referring to churches at the period by their historic location – in this case Piazza Navona's previous incarnation as the Circus of Domitian that is still reflected in it's shape today.

For what is now called France there were originally also churches for Bretons, S. Ivo dei Bretoni, founded in 1455 and into the seventeenth century others were founded for Burgundians, SS. Claudio e Andrea dei Borgognoni, and for Lorrainers, S. Nicola dei Lorenesi. Each was to be dedicated to the respective patron saints of these different 'nations' – although none of these individual churches were to attain the same prominence as did those of Spain. Again these separate churches coalesced at this period, more successfully, into the single institution of S. Luigi dei Francesi – brought into being by a Bull of Sixtus IV in 1478.[19]

Curiously it is only the inhabitants of the Holy Roman Empire, the loosest knit of all 'nations', who appear to have concentrated around the one single institution, S. Maria dell'Anima from the very beginning. This may also be reflected in that church's unusually generic dedication. Often the result of one single pious bequest, each of these various institutions had started as hospices to welcome pilgrims and other travellers of the various nations to which they belonged. S. Maria dell'Anima for example was the initiative of a merchant from Dordrecht in the jubilee year of 1350.[20]

Given their original role, both Spanish churches occupied prominent sites in Rome. S. Giacomo would originally have faced what is now called Piazza Navona – although was then referred to as the *Campus Agonensis*, from its original use as the circus of Domitian where a number of Christians were martyred, notably St Agnes herself. The churches of S. Maria dell'Anima and S. Nicola dei Lorenesi are also in this area, off the other side of the piazza. The urbanisation of the circus was taking place at precisely this same period and this area had become one important site for diverse civic activities that ranged from

[19] Roberto S., *San Luigi dei Francesci. La fabbrica di una chiesa nazionale nella Roma del '500* (Rome: 2005) 1–6.

[20] Baumüller B., *Santa Maria dell'Anima in Rom Ein Kirchenbau im politischen Spannungsfeld der Zeit um 1500* (Berlin: 2000).

sections of the carnival festivities to a market, which was moved here by Sixtus IV in 1477.[21]

The presence of S. Giacomo degli Spagnoli opening directly onto this significant site of civic theatre was not an idle choice [Fig. 1]. Similarly, the houses that were eventually purchased for the ground on which to build S. Maria were in the rione of Arenula, now called Regola, by the Tiber and therefore home to one of the few densely populated areas of Rome in the late fifteenth century. They backed on to the prestigious Via Giulia – very different from its surroundings as it had only recently laid out by Pope Julius II – and therefore also probably a deliberate choice as a location in which to insert the Spanish presence into the urban fabric of Rome.

The Ritual Role of S. Giacomo

While the foundation of S. Giacomo degli Spagnoli would have had to wait until the Jubilee of 1450, extensive building works had begun almost immediately and the church was already consecrated by 1453. The motor for this was what the Catalans consistently lacked – the support of one powerful individual and his wealth, in this case Alfonso de Paradinas, canon of Seville and later Bishop of Ciudad Rodrigo.[22] As with so many *Quattrocento* constructions it is impossible to pin responsibility for the design on any one single individual. What is of more interest is the plan chosen for the church, that of a hall church, like S. Maria dell'Anima, unusual for Rome and one practical reflection of the need to accommodate large numbers.

Although these were 'national' churches, at first the initial impulse almost always came from private citizens like Paradinas, although that was changing by 1500 – so when the Catalans sought funds to build their church Ferdinand was to allot them 500 scudi a year to be drawn from the salt tax of Naples.[23] This is one instance of that fact that it was only later in the century that any direct royal interest in these foundations would develop as the uses to which such churches could

[21] Modigliani A., "Uso degli spazi pubbliche nella Roma di Alessandro VI" in Chiabò – Maddalo – Miglio – Oliva, *Rome di fronte all'Europa* vol. II, 544–548.

[22] A potted biography of Paradinas can be found in Fernández Alonso, "Las iglesias nacionales" 26–32.

[23] Fernández Alonso, *S. Maria di Monserrato* 39.

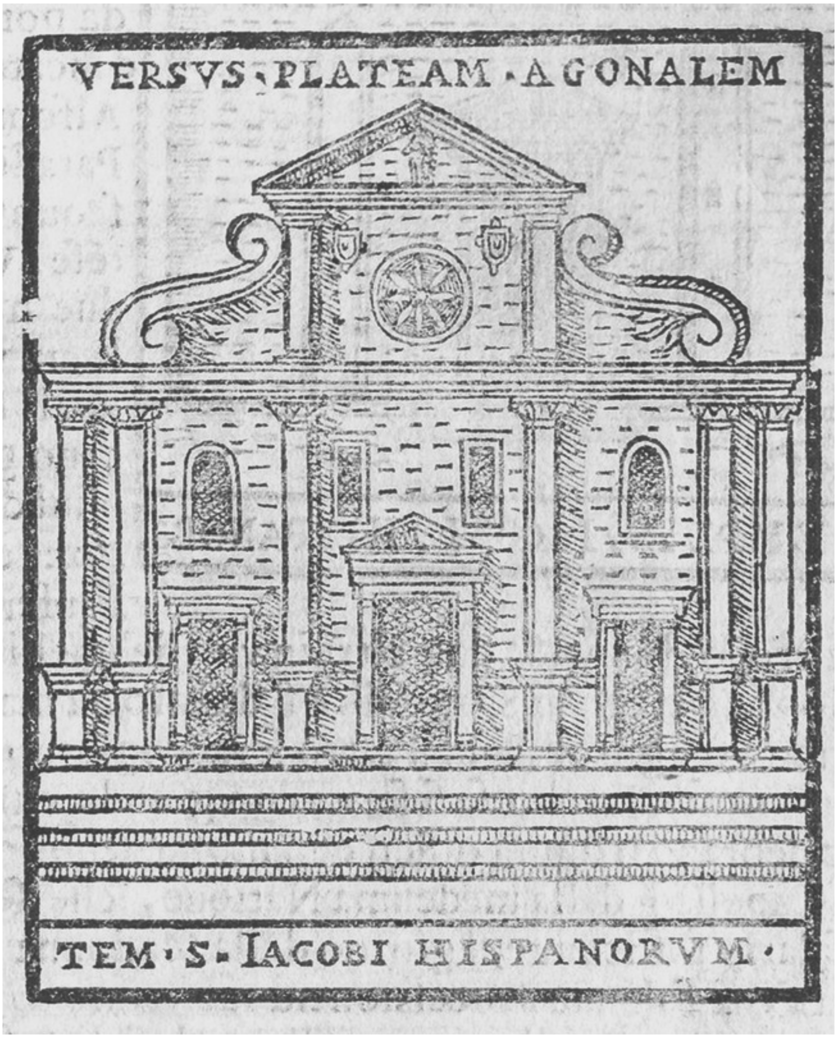

Fig. 1. S. Giacomo degli Spagnoli, Rome. Woodcut in Girolamo Franzini, *Le cose maravigliose della città di Roma, anfiteatro del Mondo* (Rome, Franzini: 1600) 81.

be put became manifest. The pope from Valencia, Alexander VI, had meanwhile sought to provide a new façade for S. Giacomo for the Jubilee Year of 1500 – in which project Bramante may even have had a hand.[24] This has now been partly dismantled but would once have had the same appearance as the surviving, roughly contemporary, façades of S. Maria del Popolo or S. Agostino.

Alexander's choice reflected the fact that despite the greater antiquity of the Catalan institutions and that one of their number was now pope in terms of their respective importance, the church of the Castilians had come to take first place among Spanish foundations at Rome – perhaps one reflection of their preponderance in the new union between the kingdoms of Castile and Aragon. The first historical notices of S. Giacomo reflect the predominant place in Hispanic ceremonial it had already come to occupy within forty years of its first foundation – for example the celebrations of the 25 of July, the feast of St James.[25] There were also more specific events to commemorate – so on the 9 July 1486 to commemorate the fall of Malaga:

> Peter Bishop of Ales celebrated a solemn Mass during the octave of the Visitation to Mary on account of the victory, which the most illustrious Ferdinand King of Spain had won against the infidel King of Granada [...]. The Cardinal Vice-Chancellor assisted at the Mass with about 12 other Cardinals, and that evening celebratory bonfires were lit before the palaces of the Pope and his Cardinals and in other places in the City.[26]

These ritual celebrations offered a potent seal of support not only for the role of the church itself in the elaborate ceremonial that surrounded the papal court but also for the nascent power of the Catholic Monarchs.

Yet further evidence of the role the church of S. Giacomo played at Rome in promoting their crusading ideology was the display in

[24] Vasari G., *Le Vite de'più eccellenti pittori scultori e architettori nelle redazioni del 1550 e 1568*, eds. R. Bettarini – P. Barocchi, 9 vols. (Florence: 1967–1987) vol. IV, 31 and Bruschi A., *Bramante Architetto* (Bari 1969) 859–862.

[25] Johannes Burchard, *Liber Notarum ab anno MCCCCLXXXIII usque ad annum MDVI*, ed. E. Celani, 3 vols. (Città di Castello: 1907–1942) vol. I, 156.

[26] Burchard, *Liber Notarum* vol. I, 156: 'Petrus episcopus Ursellensis celebravit missam solemnem de octava vistitationis beatae Mariae virginis propter victoriam quam obtinuit illustrissimus D. Ferdinandus rex Hispanie contra regem Granate videlicet infidelem [...] Interfuerunt missae reverendissimi domini. Vicecancellarius cum XII circiter aliis cardinalibus, et in sero factus fuit ignis ante palatia papae et cardinalium in pluribus aliis locis Urbis in triumphum'.

one of the pilasters of a chain and key taken from one of the gates of Tripoli, in what is now Libya, after its capture by Ferdinand.[27] This was dedicated in the church that very same year with an inscription underneath that read:

> This key is to one of the twin doors of the barbarian city of Tripoli taken from the infidel, thanks be to God, on the feast of St James and delivered into the faithful hands of Ferdinand the most catholic king of Spain. And therefore it has been ordered that this should be placed here as an *ex voto* in the year 1503 when Julius II was Pope.[28]

The militant nature of the church in Spain under Ferdinand and Isabella and the primate, the Archbishop of Toledo, Cardinal Cisneros, was very much reflected in this most Castilian foundation.

It should be noted here that contemporary publications at Rome can also be found publicising these events. So the ceremonies associated with 'their' churches, while perhaps the most significant, are only one part of a broader whole that might even be seen as a concerted campaign. A number of texts either celebrated the fall of Granada directly or like the *Panegyricus in memoriam Sancti Augustini* of Pietro Marso, published at some point in 1488, draw more subtle parallels.[29] In the latter the anticipated fall of Granada is associated with the need to also expel the Moors from North Africa and particularly from Augustine's birthplace, Tagaste.

This very Castilian-ness – and particularly the crusading ideology – of S. Giacomo degli Spagnoli was originally reflected in the individual chapels within the church, often in their patrons and usually in their dedications too. The status of these patrons and the craftsmen they employed in turn reflected the growing importance of S. Giacomo at

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[27] This gift may also have been intended by Ferdinand as a reference to his grandfather's military achievements. In 1423 after his sack of Marseilles, Alfonso V had taken the harbour chain of the city and deposited it in the cathedral at Valencia where it remains to this day. See Ryder, *Alfonso the Magnanimous* 114.

[28] Forcella, *Iscrizioni* vol. III, 222. The original inscription reads: 'Ista clavis est unius duarum portarum Barbaricae Civitati Tripoli nuncupatae quam D. in festo S. Jacobi ab infedelibus in manibus Ferdinandi fidelis Hispanorum Catholicis Regis dedit et propterea hic inde ex voto debito posita fuit 1503 tempore Julii PP.II'. It should be noted that while this is exactly how the inscription was recorded the date of 1503 has to be an error, as Tripoli did not fall to Ferdinand until 1509.

[29] These broader questions are considered in Cruciani, *Teatro nel Rinascimento*; and Farenga P., "Le edizioni di Eucario Silber", in Chiabò – Maddalo – Miglio – Oliva, *Rome di fronte all'Europa* vol. II, 429–431. On Marso, see Dykmans M., *L'humanisme de Pierre Marso* (Vatican: 1988) 27.

this period. One good example was the third chapel on the right. This was dedicated to St Ildefonso and founded in 1501 by Diego Melélendez Valdès, Bishop of Zamora and also governor of the church and hospital of Santiago between 1500 and 1504.

There was also a chapel to Saint James, commissioned posthumously by a Valencian of long residence in Rome and even more powerful status than the Bishop of Zamora, Jaime Serra i Cau. Serra, who died in 1517, was once a domestic prelate of Alexander VI, had been archbishop of Oristano in Sardinia since 1492 and Cardinal since 1500. The chapel has architecture by Antonio da Sangallo, a statue of the saint by Jacopo Sansovino and frescoes by Pellegrino da Modena. Vasari describes the commission in detail in his life of Sangallo where it is also worth noting he refers to S. Giacomo specifically as being the church of Serra's 'nazione'.[30]

The choice of artists may in fact have been made by Serra's testamentary executor, Cardinal del Monte although the subject matter is entirely Castilian. On the left were miracles performed during the saint's life while the right were those that happened after his death. In particular, the centre of these frescoes on the right hand side, the only one to survive intact to any degree, makes explicit the crusading ideology of the church once again. This depicts a popular subject, the miraculous appearance of St James, sword in hand, at the battle of Clavijo in 844.[31] It was not only, however, the crusading ideology of the Catholic monarchs that was celebrated at Rome – and both in their churches and in print more solemn, if equally dramatic, events were marked too.[32]

On 16 January 1498, a memorial mass was held at the church for the late Prince John, the sole male heir of Ferdinand and Isabella, who had died unexpectedly the previous October. A week earlier, on the 10th, another memorial mass had already taken place in the papal chapel itself. This was an unprecedented honour for a mere crown prince and such a ceremony was otherwise reserved for the popes themselves or reigning monarchs; it came about as the direct result of pressure by Ferdinand and Isabella on the Pope. The disgust of Burchard in his *diarium* at this break with tradition is manifest and he was to be

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30 Vasari, *Le Vite* vol. IV, 31.
31 Davidson B.F., "Pellegrino de Modena", *Burlington Magazine* 803 (1970) 78–86.
32 What follows here is discussed in greater detail in Vaquero Piñiero, "I funerali romani".

yet further appalled as at S. Giacomo the place of the prince's body was taken by a vast catafalque erected in the choir of the church – an innovation of which he was apparently unaware.[33]

Nonetheless the ceremony at S. Giacomo, for what was otherwise such an infelicitous occasion, could be regarded as a triumphant success. It was attended by the Spanish Ambassador, the governor of Rome, eleven Cardinals, various other ambassadors, all to witness the weight that 'Spain' could now bring to bear at Rome itself. Seven years later, on 16 February 1505, for the similar obsequies of Queen Isabella herself their numbers were even greater. One reigning ruler, the Duke of Urbino, also a relation of the Pope by marriage, twenty-five Cardinals, four Archbishops and six ambassadors were present.[34] And the ceremonial was yet more lavish, the catafalque was moved to the nave and the church itself was draped in black and bore the arms of Castile, of Aragon and of Portugal.

The Subordinate Place of S. Maria Del Monserrato

At the same time, however, Cardinal Serra's choice of burial place is perhaps indicative of the fact that despite his own birth in Valencia the premises of the confraternity of the Catalans by contrast were still unfit for such a solemn memorial as the burial place of a Cardinal. It still occupied as all similar institutions appear to have done in the first instance merely a couple of houses adapted for the purpose. At roughly the same period, around the mid fourteenth century, two separate hospices for the Catalans were created in the Rione Arenula: S. Niccolò and S. Margherita. These were founded respectively by Giacoma Ferràn from Barcelona and Margherita Pau from Majorca, although the confraternity of S. Maria itself was not to be founded until 1506.[35]

Any lack of immediate success may in part have been due to the very different make up of its membership from S. Giacomo degli Spagnoli. The last analysis of the *libro dei fratelli*, made when the archive remained accessible, proved that this was composed not of those clerics from the higher echelons close to both the papal court and to the

[33] Burchard, *Liber Notarum* vol. II, 69–71.

[34] Their names and numbers are recorded in Burchard, *Liber Notarum* vol. II, 69–71 and 471–472.

[35] Fernández Alonso, "Las iglesias nacionales" 48–67.

crown of Spain that formed the backbone of S. Giacomo but rather of a commercial class of predominantly Catalan origin.[36] So, despite its own success and the growth of S. Giacomo it was not in fact until late 1517 – over twenty-five years since Innocent VIII had first set the official seal of approval on the latter church – that plans for a new church of S. Maria di Monserrato were drawn up, at precisely the moment when that 'Spanish' commercial class at Rome was at its most dynamic [Fig. 2].

The first actual payment is recorded in February of the following year, 1518. At the same time, despite this subsidiary, even subordinate, position S. Maria was still nonetheless expected to play its proper role in the unfolding drama of increasing Spanish hegemony being played out at Rome in the years. As far back as May 1508 then, in a further example of increasing royal interest, King Ferdinand was already expressing his wish that, since his Aragonese and Catalan subjects were not welcome in S. Giacomo, they should at least have a fitting premises of their own.[37] Finally, on the 13 June 1518 two of the leading Catalan clerics at Rome, the Bishop of Cefalù and Giovanni Cases, respectively blessed the foundation stone and celebrated a solemn mass at a ceremony attended by virtually every leading member of the confraternity then active at Rome. These included Charles's own ambassador, the Valencian Don Jerónimo de Vich, who laid the foundation stone.

The designs for this new building did involve Antonio da Sangallo, then, excluding Raphael, perhaps the most prestigious and most active architect in Rome. If these had been executed, S. Maria di Monserrato would at last have had an institutional seat to match that of S. Giacomo degli Spagnoli.[38] It might even have rivalled Sangallo's own contemporary work nearby on S. Giovanni dei Fiorentini – like that long drawn out project, however, here too the impetus rapidly faded. Perhaps most interesting is one particular drawing U720A *recto* which

[36] Vaquero Piñiero M., "Una realta nazionale composita: comunità e chiese 'spagnole' a Roma", in Sergio Gensini (ed.), *Roma Capitale (1447–1527). Centro di Studi sulla Civiltà del Tardo Medioevo San Miniato, Collana di Studi e Ricerche* 5 (San Miniato: 1994) 480–482.

[37] In a letter that was subsequently published in Barón de Terrateig, *Política en Italia del Rey Católico 1507–1516*, 2 vols. (Madrid: 1963) vol. II, 54–55.

[38] All the drawings relevant to this project can be found in Frommel C.L. – Adams N. (eds.), *The Architectural Drawings of Antonio da Sangallo the Younger and his Circle. II Churches, Villas, the Pantheon, Tombs and Ancient Inscriptions* (New York: 2000).

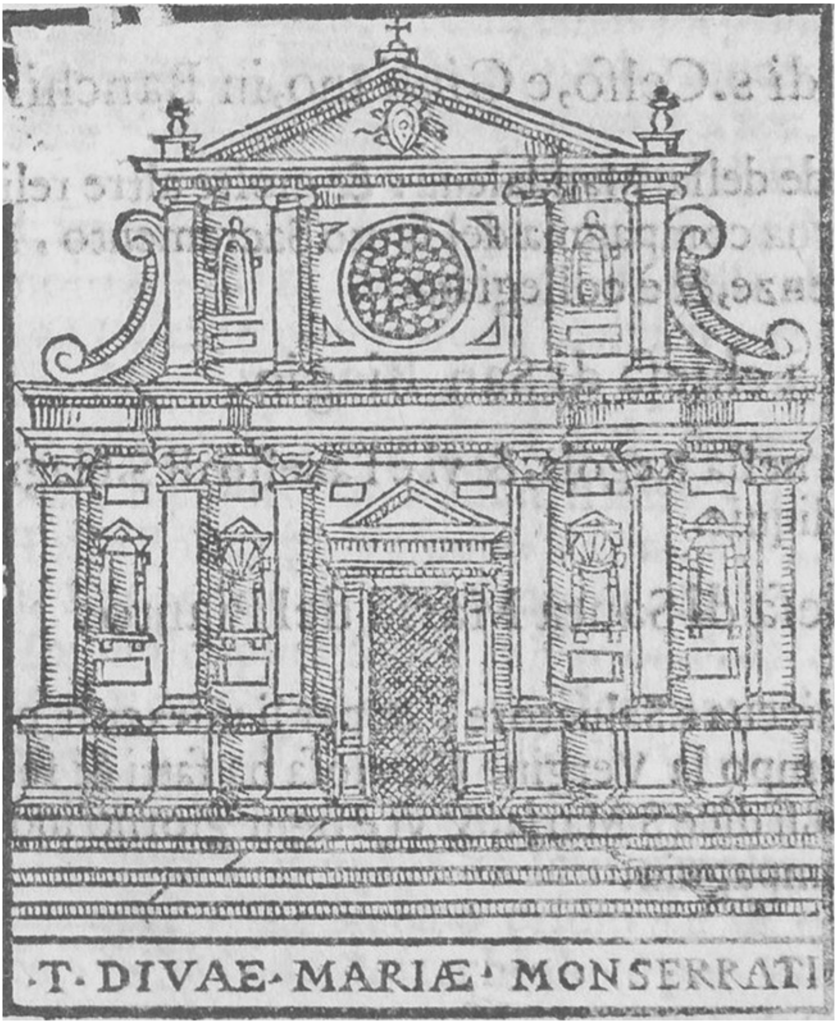

Fig. 2. S. Maria in Monserrato, Rome. Woodcut in Girolamo Franzini, *Le cose maravigliose della città di Roma, anfiteatro del Mondo* (Rome, Franzini: 1600) 95.

demonstrates Sangallo taking into account the need to incorporate a pilgrim hostel into his final design even if it is only with a rough sketch of a columned courtyard.[39] The solemn event of the laying of the foundation stone remained an isolated instance in the case of S. Maria, however.

Of Sangallo's grand designs by the time of the end of the period under consideration here, the Sack of 1527, and even as late as 1542, only the apse of the present church was to be in existence – as is recorded in U1789A.[40] With the evisceration of the Spanish mercantile presence in the city in 1527, in contrast with S. Giacomo, the Catalans were left permanently struggling for funds. Their claim on the salt tax in Naples, although re-affirmed by Charles immediately after his accession, was not to start actually paying out until the 1550s. Again, both in the ceremonial and also in the development of the building the contrast with S. Giacomo is marked. S. Giacomo had come to take on the characteristics of the church for the new Spain with the Catalans left very much in second place. This is perhaps epitomised by the fact that while S. Maria di Monserrato languished, it was Sangallo who was employed after 1527 to remodel S. Giacomo degli Spagnoli – although of that project too only the aisles were to be completed.[41]

Ferdinand and San Pietro in Montorio

By comparison, S. Pietro in Montorio, for all the royal attention lavished on it from an early date, never fully assumed the function for which it was intended [Fig. 3]. Despite the amount of academic notice that it has received by contrast to the two earlier foundations, it is in many ways anomalous to them. First it did not begin as a confraternity, nor did it occupy a central site – the church was only just inside the Aurelian walls that still encircle Rome and was of uncertain foundation date. Nor was it formed from a pilgrim hostel but was instead originally a monastic complex of the Celestines. It was refounded in the first instance not directly by the Catholic Monarchs but instead by the Portuguese Franciscan reformer, Amedeo Menez de Silva in

[39] Ibidem 146.
[40] Ibidem 256.
[41] Ibidem 180–182.

Fig. 3. S. Pietro in Montorio, Rome.

1472, and through the direct intervention of Pope Sixtus IV, who gave Amedeo the church and made him his confessor.[42]

The interest of the Catholic monarchs in the new foundation of S. Pietro in Montorio, despite an Iberian connection being through Amedeo alone, appears to have begun specifically as the result of a vow made before the long-awaited birth of their son and heir, Don Juan, in 1478.[43] Once their attention had been drawn the response was swift – according to Albertini the church was 'a fundamentis restituta', although he alone gives the credit for this specifically to the 'regina hyspanorum'.[44] Nonetheless, in 1488, some years before giving any money to either of his other 'national' churches, it was Ferdinand who pledged 500 gold ducats a year until the church was finished.[45] In a reflection of the degree of personal attention he paid in a letter of 17 August 1498 to Cardinal Bernardino Carvajal, he confirms receipt of the accounts and adds that 'la traça de la yglesia y monesterio, […] lo qual todo nos ha mucho plazido'.[46]

There is evidence then for a once co-ordinated scheme of decoration in the royal arms of Ferdinand and Isabella that surmount each of the five chapels. Their interest may be reflected even more directly in the architecture of the church itself, which has shallow-apsed chapels, as if excavated from the wall, uncommon in Rome but which do occur in Spain. These are noticeable for example in a contemporary construction in which royal interest was also marked – the Franciscan monastery of S. Juan de los Reyes at Toledo.[47]

When it comes to defining a reason for the choice by Ferdinand and Isabella of S. Pietro in Montorio it is worth extending this parallel with San Juan a little further.

That monastery was also erected as the result of a vow after a specific and dynastically significant event – their victory in the battle of Toro

[42] Sella P., *Leone X e la definitiva divisione dell'Ordine dei Minori (OMin.): La bolla 'Ite Vos' (29 Maggio 1517)* (Grottaferrata: 2001) 191–194.

[43] Aguado F., *Documentos relativos a la fundación de San Pietro in Montorio* (Rome: 1876) 11.

[44] Albertini, *Mirabilia Romae*.

[45] Cantatore, *San Pietro in Montorio* 38–45.

[46] De la Torre A., *Documentos sobre relaciones internacionales de los Reyes Católicos*, 6 vols. (Barcelona: 1949–1966) vol. VI, 117–118.

[47] One example of the importance given to this particular foundation is discussed in Sanabria S.L., "A Late Gothic Drawing of San Juan de los Reyes in Toledo at the Prado Museum in Madrid", *Journal of the Society for Architectural Historians* 51 (1992) 161–173.

over Isabella's niece, Juana, and her husband, Afonso V of Portugal.[48] It occupied a prominent site in one of the largest and most historically significant cities of their joint realms. Furthermore both monasteries were staffed by reformed Franciscans, an order particularly favoured by the Catholic monarchs and which they saw as a nexus around which both to base their reform of the Spanish church and to promote their own power.[49]

Such direct (and relatively immediate) contact between the Spanish crown and the institution at Rome does not occur in either of the other two cases discussed previously. Rather than the organic growth of the original 'national' churches of Spain then here we have a deliberate 'plantation' with specifically 'Spanish' references in the heart of Rome itself. It may serve to explain the prominence given to S. Pietro in Montorio by the Catholic monarchs (and the Popes) as it was their own 'chiesa votiva', although the majority of their subjects still would appear to have favoured their traditional home of S. Giacomo degli Spagnoli. Nonetheless certain influential Iberian clerics still chose to be buried there rather than S. Giacomo although the origins of the patrons of the various chapels shows greater variety. Furthermore, unlike there, certain of these chapels still survive.

By February 1510, when the first edition of Albertini's *Opusculum* was published, the church of S. Pietro in Montorio was among the handful at Rome where the chapels could be described as 'ornatissimae'.[50] Documentation concerning some patrons survives, none unfortunately related to the surviving decoration. Most interestingly perhaps for the fourth chapel on an uncertain side the protonotary – a senior office in the papal service equivalent to a bishop – Garcia de Gibraleón from Seville signed a contract with an unknown Giovanni, a contract from which it emerges the same Giovanni had done other work in the church.[51] Garcia de Gibraleón had already commissioned a chapel, the

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[48] Del Pulgar H., "Crónica de los señores reyes católicos don Fernando y doña Isabel de Castilla y de Aragon", in Rosell C. (ed.), *Crónicas de los reyes de Castilla desde Don Alfonso el Sabio hasta los Católicos Don Fernando y Doña Isabel*, 3 vols. (Madrid: 1875–1878) vol. III, 317–319.

[49] This was in fact something of a tradition for the Aragonese monarchy. See Evangelisti P., *I Francescani e la costruzione di uno stato. Linguaggi politici, valori identitari, progetti di governo in area catalano-aragonese* (Padua: 2006).

[50] Albertini, *Mirabilia Romae* 50.

[51] Ferrajoli A., "La Congiura dei Cardinali contro Leone X", *Miscellanea della R. Societa Romana di Storia Patria* (Rome: 1920) 175–176.

fifth on the right in S. Giacomo degli Spagnoli in 1495, so this could be the one documented instance of a powerful figure moving his patronage in response to the new foundation.

The construction history of S. Pietro in Montorio is also a demonstration that the Spanish 'nation' at Rome appears to have consistently privileged certain craftsmen above others – although none of their own compatriots were working in Rome at this period. Antoniazzo Romano for example, whose name is associated with the decoration of several of the chapels mentioned above. Even a name as influential as Donato Bramante occurs in connection both with S. Giacomo degli Spagnoli and S. Pietro in Montorio as well as other 'Spanish' projects at Rome such as the cloister of S. Maria della Pace – and it has even been speculated that he was responsible for the catafalque for Queen Isabella in 1505.[52] Whatever the perceived status of these institutions, the same craftsmen circulated between them at various points in their construction history.

Anyway, the impetus given by royal intervention, meant that the church of S. Pietro in Montorio was already in use in 1494 and could be dedicated in the Jubilee year of 1500, considerably ahead of the two earlier and perhaps rival foundations. Furthermore, the consecration was carried out by the Pope himself, the Valencian Alexander VI and not, by contrast, the random collection of junior clerics and administrators who gathered for the foundation of S. Maria di Monserrato eighteen years later. The most contentious symbol of this royal interest, however, is not the church itself but the so-called *Tempietto* contained within the cloister next door – the work of Bramante [Fig. 4]. Although this building has for already been the subject of considerable scholarly discussion as to where exactly it should be dated within the trajectory of Bramante's Roman career nonetheless it cannot be ignored in any collection such as this.[53]

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[52] Bruschi, *Bramante Architetto* 861, note 11 and Marias F., "Bramante en España", in Bruschi A., *Bramante*, trsl. R. Ochoa – C. Luca de Tena (Bilbao: 1987) 7–67. The suggestion as to the catafalque can be found in Cantatore F., "Un committente spagnolo nella Roma di Alessandro VI", in Chiabò – Maddalo – Miglio – Oliva, *Rome di fronte all'Europa* vol. III 870.

[53] Doubt on a date of completion or even of beginning work in 1502 as would appear to be the case from the contemporary inscriptions when compared with the development of Bramante's style at Rome was first expressed in De Angelis de Ossat P., "Preludio Romano del Bramante", *Palladio* 16, 1–4 (1966) 83–102, an opinion subsequently concurred with in Bruschi, *Bramante Architetto* 989–995. This debate

Fig. 4. Bramante's Tempietto at S. Pietro in Montorio, Rome.

In one indicator of the lack of interest in the Spanish presence at Rome, these questions of who and why had in fact not even posed until Deborah Howard's article almost twenty years ago. In this context, then, the *Tempietto* should be regarded as the nodal point directly linking the Spanish monarchy to Rome's Christian past.[54] The form of the building would have had obvious references for contemporaries to the Temple in Jerusalem – an implicit link both to the Catholic monarchs crusading ideology and also to Ferdinand's assumption of the title of King of Jerusalem. Such an assumption would appear to be proved by the inscription on the foundation stone of the Tempietto, that is now immured in the altar of the crypt.

> This was placed in the year of Christian Salvation 1502 on the Sacred tomb of the martyred Prince of the Apostles by Ferdinand King of Spain and Isabella his Catholic Queen, after it was built by them on this spot.[55]

The *Tempietto* is supposed to mark what had been recognised since only the fifteenth century as the exact spot of St Peter's martyrdom. The precise location of the martyrdom on the Janiculum was the result of a relatively recent thesis by a canon of St Peter's, the poet Maffeo Vegio, which had been published in 1455.[56] This text fitted into the current tradition of challenging long held beliefs and exposing historical hoaxes – examplified most famously by Lorenzo Valla and his *De falso credita et ementita Constantini Donatione declamatio* of 1439–40.[57] From now on, rituals of foundation were to be based on what was seen as being a sub-soil of rigorous historical fact. In this light, arguments as to the date and therefore the *Tempietto's* place within Bramante's *oeuvre* are rendered almost irrelevant here, what matters above all is the site itself.

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has nonetheless been ongoing since and can be found most recently summarized in Cantatore, "Bernardino Carvajal" 866–867.

54 Howard D., "Bramante's Tempietto. Spanish Royal Patronage in Rome", *Apollo* 136 (1992) 211–217; Freiberg, J., "Bramante's Tempietto and the Spanish Crown", *Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome* 50 (2005) 151–205.

55 Forcella, *Iscrizioni* vol. V, 248: '[Sacellum] Apostolorum Principis Martirio Sacrum Ferdinandus Hispaniarum Rex et Elisabeth Regina Catholici post erectam ab eisdem posuerunt Anno Salutis Christianae MD'.

56 Maffeo Vegio, *De rebus antiquis memorabilibus Basilicae Sancti Petri Romae* (Rome: 1455).

57 Antonazzi G., *Lorenzo Valla e la polemica sulla Donazione di Constantino* (Rome: 1985).

Cardinal Carvajal would appear to have laid the foundation stone in 1502, two years after the church itself was dedicated, as is recorded in an inscription recovered during the repairs of 1628–1629. In one example of the afterlife of a legend, this inscription was immediately misinterpreted as the block on which St Peter's cross had been placed and was itself used as a miraculous cure: 'This opinion is witnessed through the piety of an architect, who gave some of the dust from the same to a seriously ill woman and, instantaneous miracle, restore her to perfect health'.[58]

It is perhaps appropriate to end with this and with another example of the ongoing importance of S. Pietro in Montorio – albeit in a different context. Ferdinand died in 1516 when the work on S. Pietro in Montorio was still incomplete and by 1523 his grandson Charles was already allocating money to complete the cloister.[59] Charles realised the importance for his manifold titles of a foothold in Rome that S. Pietro would provide—it also offered through continuing one of Ferdinand's projects one tangible link for his Spanish subjects, who had so recently expressed dis-satisfaction with his own rule, with the past represented by the Catholic Monarchs.

Rivals

Finally, the importance of these three churches as ceremonial sites for the Spanish 'nation' as a whole can be measured when they are compared to other potential sites of such 'Spanish' festivities notably their Cardinals titulars. Only about half of the 'Spanish' cardinals created in this period even ever came to Rome at all – certainly neither of the two most influential of their number ever did, that is Pedro Gonsález de Mendoza and Francisco Jiménez de Cisneros. Furthermore, there appears to have been no case of one titular church being reserved for Spanish Cardinals, although two Spaniards were Cardinals of S. Vitale and two of S. Sabina during the period under consideration. Apart from the one – the Basilica of S. Croce in Gerusalemme where between

[58] D.G.M. Lobkowitz, *Vita del Ven. Padre Domenico di Gesù e Maria* (Vienna: 1655) 472 transcribed by Tibaudo G., "Precisizioni sul Tempietto di S. Pietro in Montorio", *Studi Bramanteschi* (1974) 5515: 'Questa opinione è stata espressa dalla pietà di un architetto, che diede ad una donna gravemente inferma un po'di polveri della medesima e con prodigio instantaneo la restituì la pristina sanità'.

[59] Cantatore, *San Pietro in Montorio*.

1478 and 1540 with one gap between 1523 and 1528 when the titular was not used there were three Spanish Cardinals in succession: Pedro González de Mendoza between 1478 and 1495, Bernardino López de Carvajal between 1495 and 1523 and Francisco Quiñones between 1528 and 1540.

The rebuilding work of both Mendoza and Carvajal on the church gave it a symbolic value that would have made it perhaps the leading 'non-national' church for the Spanish – although again later alterations have meant that this is not now easily visible. In particular Mendoza's ceiling, now replaced, originally coupled his own arms with those of the Catholic Monarchs – in a potent symbolism of his own importance. Nonetheless the church does not seem to have acted as a ceremonial area for the Spanish 'nation' as a whole a role that remained reserved for the 'national' churches. One similarly ornate ceiling that does survive, however, may have had a very specific role – that of S. Maria Maggiore. This was installed by Giuliano da Sangallo for Alexander VI and according to Paolo De Angelis at least was gilded with the first gold from the New World that had been gifted to the Borgia pope by Ferdinand and Isabella.[60]

Conclusion

All three of these churches served as visible symbols of Spanish power at Rome but there was a definite hierarchy among them that is reflected both in their building history and the ceremonial associated with them. Each of these churches and their associated ceremonies were the concrete and permanent evidence of a new power in the city that also revealed itself in more temporary events. Spain's power in the city of Rome was often more of a Walter Scott style 'rough wooing' in fact than was represented by the relatively benign presence of their various ecclesiastical institutions and the elaborate ceremonial that accompanied their dedication, foundation or consecration. The sack of the city by the troops of Charles I and V in 1527 then was merely the culmination of a tradition and not the isolated event it is often seen to be.

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[60] Paolo De Angelis, *Basilica S. Mariae Maioris de Urbe a Liberio Papa I usque ad Paulum V. Pont Max. Descriptio et Delineatio* (Rome, Zanetti: 1621) 94 and Jacks P.J., "Alexander VI's Ceiling for Santa Maria Maggiore in Rome", *Römisches Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte* 22 (1985) 63–82.

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CLASH OF POWER AND CREED: CULTURAL (RE)FOUNDATIONS IN NORTHWEST AFRICA

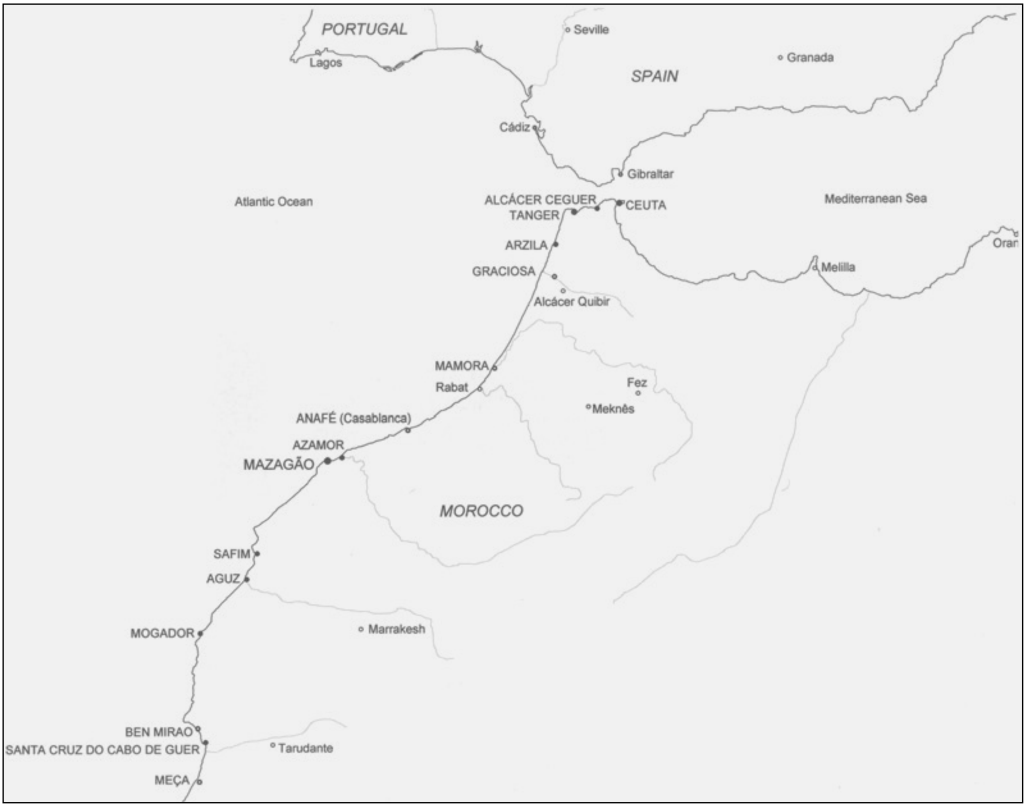
Jorge Correia

In 1415, the prestigious conquest of the Muslim stronghold of Ceuta, strategically positioned between the Mediterranean Sea and the Atlantic Ocean, was the beginning of the overseas expansion of Portugal. The Portuguese were to remain in Northwest Africa for more than three centuries, until they abandoned Mazagão in 1769 [Map 3].

Despite their long presence in the area, the Portuguese were never able to establish a permanent access to the hinterland beyond the limits of the walls of their cities, especially in the southern territory. Occasionally, peace treaties or alliances allowed the Portuguese to extend temporarily their administrative influence, but in general their cities remained isolated. Portuguese Ceuta, for example, stood alone for more than four decades, prey to incessant raids from Fes and hostage to the ambition of the Portuguese crown to conquer its neighbour Tangier for the Christian cause. This enterprise would turn into a catastrophy in 1437, when the king's brother, Don Fernando, was captured.[1] From that moment, the interest of the Portuguese in North Africa diminished somewhat, given the coeval discoveries of the Madeira and Azores isles and the discovery of a passable route around Cape Boujdour in 1434 by the Portuguese mariner Gil Eanes.

Only in 1458, Don Afonso V restored the image of a Christian overseas *reconquista* through the capture of Qsar es-Seghir, fostering a parallel process of conquests and discoveries on the African continent. The new strategy relied on the taking of Asilah, a smaller town on the Atlantic shore. When it fell in Christian hands in 1471, it became possible to besiege Tangier from land. Only four days after the capture of Asilah, the victorious Portuguese king entered the long coveted city, deserted and abandoned by its population. Afonso's display of power compelled the king of Fes to sign a twenty-year truce, renewable for

[1] About this episode: Oliveira Marques A.H. (ed.), *Nova História da Expansão Portuguesa. A Expansão Quatrocentista* (Lisbon: 1998) vol. II, 256–258.



Map 3. Southern Iberian Peninsula and Northwest Africa, indicating the Portuguese possessions and some reference cities.

another ten.[2] With this victory, Portugal had become one of the kingdoms that disputed the Western Mediterranean, along with Castile, Granada and Fes.

The year 1471 also marked the end of the slow agony of the Marinid dynasty and the emergence of the Wattasid rulers in Fes.[3] Meanwhile, a new dynasty that traced its origins back to the prophet Mohammed, the Saadis, emerged from the South. Their creation of a new capital in Morocco, today's Marrakech, led to a political polarization of the western Maghreb. The Portuguese were able to exploit this instable situation by means of an ingenious protocol management *vis à vis* its territorial and commercial interests in the region. The Portuguese were allowed to install trading posts in a number of Muslim towns located in the South, such as Azemmour (1486) or Safi (1488), in turn of military protection. When these cities demanded suzerainty, they were eventually taken over with military means.

In this period, the Portuguese navigator Bartolomeu Dias sailed round the Cape of Good Hope, opening the way to the Indian Ocean and to the establishment of Ormuz, Goa and Melaka, bringing the trading triangle of the most important spice sea routes under Portuguese control.[4] The entrepreneurs on the new route founded fortresses in strategic places on both the West and the East shores of Africa. Attempts were made to copy this successful strategy in the Maghreb.[5] Yet, the military successes of the Portuguese in Northwest Africa alternated with defeats, of which the Tangier episode of 1437 was merely the first. In fact, although less frequently adopted, the Portuguese employed another paradigmatic strategy to establish cities on the Atlantic coast of North Africa, namely the foundation of new towns. This alternative approach of the territory, seeking strategic points of implantation, turned out less fortunate for the Portuguese crown. New fortified

[2] Guevara A.L., *Arcila durante la ocupación Portuguesa (1471–1549)* (Tangier: 1940) 28.

[3] Métalsi M. – Treal C. – Ruiz J.-M., *Les villes impériales du Maroc* (Paris: 1999) 30–31.

[4] Boxer C.R., *O Império Marítimo Português, 1415–1825* (Lisbon: 2001) 62.

[5] After the signing of the Treaty of Tordesillas in 1494, by which Portugal and Spain divided the newly discovered lands outside of Europe among themselves, the crusade against the kingdom of Fes was divided in two at the Ceuta isthmus. The western part fell under the sovereignty of Portugal, while to the East the way was open for the Catholic kings to conquer and settle in the Mediterranean Maghreb once Granada had been defeated. The Spanish conquests of Melilla (1497) and Oran (1509) are the symbols of yet another political power in the military equation of North Africa.

positions in geographically relevant sites resulted in an ephemeral pulverisation of the Portuguese presence on the North African coast. Frequent military raids from local hostile tribes often meant an early end to these new foundations. Since the Portuguese remains of Agadir (former Santa Cruz do Cabo de Guer) were completely destroyed in the earthquake of 1960, the only successful foundation fortress-city to remain today is Mazagão, built from 1541 onwards.

Thus, even if the history of Portuguese conquests, foundations and retreats in this territory lasted more than three and a half centuries, by the beginning of the sixteenth century a pattern of Portuguese settlements had been established, consisting of Qsar es-Seghir (1458) and Tangier (1471) together with Ceuta along the Strait of Gibraltar, Asilah (1471), also in the northern extremity though already on the Atlantic shore, and later Safi (1508) and Azemmour (1513), further south on the coast of present-day Morocco.

The occupations lasted long enough to allow the Portuguese to transform some pre-existing Islamic cities; the Portuguese occupation of Safi and Azemmour would last until 1542, those of Qsar es-Seghir and Asilah until 1550. Conquest was the preferred *modus operandi* of the Portuguese crown in this territory. This model of settlement stimulated the adoption of European urban models incorporating an Islamic matrix, built by Portuguese lords in cities devoid of their indigenous population, and visible especially in the military architecture and the public buildings and spaces. Therefore, the arrival of a new power and creed in the Maghreb implied both a re-evaluation of the existing urban space and the desire to break with previous European models. After all, this was a time when the establishment of medieval new towns and the renovating hygienist spirit in Europe altered conceptions of the city and announced a budding modernity.

This development came to a sudden end with the loss of Santa Cruz do Cabo de Guer to the ascendant Saadi Cherif in 1541. The first loss of Portuguese settlement after a military defeat greatly distressed Don João III and his court, leading to a renewed discussion about Portuguese presence in the Maghreb.[6] The king decided to give up most Portuguese possessions in the region. Only three citadels were

[6] This issue was being raised from the biennium of 1534–35, during which the king's council and clergy were asked by the crown to maintain or evacuate the North African town fortresses. See for the replies of 1534 Cénival P., *Les Sources Inédites de l'Histoire du Maroc* (Paris: 1946), vol. II, Deuxième Partie 637–703; for those of 1535,

kept: Ceuta and Tangier, the largest and most important strongholds, and Mazagão, which had been founded only recently.[7]

The decision of Don João III to reduce his presence in the area was undoubtedly motivated by the threat of the Saadi Muslim political current. The reduction of the Christian presence in the area required a concomitant adoption of modern military techniques and defence architecture. Muslim threats came now both from land and from sea, since the Turkish navy was expanding its influence into the Western Mediterranean. From this point on, Portugal's strategy in the Western Mediterranean was motivated both by the commercial benefits from Saharan caravans arriving at the ports of Morocco and Fes with products from the Maghreb, and by the political prestige bestowed by victories over the Muslims as will be discussed below.

In Ceuta, Tangier and Mazagão (today El Jadida), a long-lasting Muslim stratum has been alternated with shorter Christian episodes. In each case, the Portuguese interval had a decisive influence on the urban fabric, and its alternation with Muslim or other European phases (such as the brief British presence in Tangier, or the ongoing Spanish presence in Ceuta) is a trace of the interaction between politics and religion in the region: be it the Muslim-Christian situation of Ceuta, the Christian-Muslim phases of El Jadida, or the Muslim-Christian-Muslim history of Tangier. But, beyond the alternation in creed, at the root of the greed and disputes over these cities were also profound cultural traditions.

The Mythological Origins of Ceuta and Tangier

Upon the arrival of the Portuguese, the Muslim bastions Ceuta and Tangier were the largest cities on the south side of the Strait of Gibraltar and therefore of great strategic importance. At the same time, the legendary ancient past of these cities turned them into easily recognizable symbols of power and glory. In fact, several references in classical

see Ricard R., *Les Sources Inédites de l'Histoire du Maroc, Première Série – Dynastie Sa'dienne, Archives et Bibliothèques de Portugal* (Paris: 1948) vol. III, 1–14, 18–21.

[7] Although it represents an epistemological break with preceding military architecture, it is important to remark that the motivation for the layout of Mazagão is a compromise with the (still) urban tradition developed in the examples of occupation by conquest. This is a topic that goes beyond the purposes of this article.

works testified to their greatness and symbolical connotation. This aura was very much present in the fifteenth-century imagination, rendering the possession of these cities all the more desirable. Their conquest by the Portuguese turned Don João I in 1415 and Don Afonso V in 1471 in 'emperors' or 'princes of the Reconquest', and both kings were aware of the fame that came with the acquisition of these territories.

Across the centuries, the city of Ceuta had been as much a source of inspiration to poets, geographers and travellers alike, as an object of greed for neighbours and enemies. The reference to Ceuta in Dante's *Divina Commedia* is therefore no isolated instance.[8] The location of Ceuta on Mount Acho was traditionally identified with one of the mythical Pillars of Hercules that together with its European counterpart, the Rock of Gibraltar, joins two continents and guards over two seas. Circulating among several classical authors, the story was told in great detail in Pomponius Mela's *De Chorographia*.[9] Back then, *Abila* (Ceuta) and *Calpe* (Gibraltar) had formed the gate of the ocean, separating the immensity of water from the confined Mediterranean Sea. Neither Mount Acho nor *Abila* gave the site its name, but yet another mountain chain called Djebel Moussa, which emerges further west, separating the peninsula from the rest of the African mainland. Its seven elevations, called *Septem Frates* by the ancient authors, consisted of seven hills with a similar altitude.[10]

Apart from these classical references, there was also a biblical source for Ceuta's topology. According to a Jewish tradition, then disseminated across the Muslim world, Ceuta would indeed have been founded

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8 Dante Alighieri, *Inferno*, XXVI, 103–111: 'L'un lito e l'altro vidi infin la Spagna, / fin nel Morrocco, e l'isola de' Sardi, / e l'altre che quel mare intorno bagna. / Io e' compagni eravam vecchi e tardi / quando venimmo a quella foce stretta/ dov'Ercule segnò li suoi riguardi / acciò che l'uom piú oltre non si metta; / da la man destra mi lasciai Sibilia / da l'altra giá m'avea lasciata Setta'.

9 Pliny The Elder, *Naturalis Historia* V, 2; Pomponius Mela, *De Chorographia* I, 23: 'Deinde est mons praealtus, ei quem ex adverso Hispania adtollit obiectus: hunc Abilam, illum Calpen vocant, Columnas Herculis utrumque. Addit fama nominis fabulam, Herculem ipsum iunctos olim perpetuo iugo diremisse colles, atque ita exclusum antea mole montium oceanum ad quae nunc inundat admissum. Hic iam mare latius funditur, submotasque vastius terras magno impetu inflectit'.

10 Mentioned by Mela, *De Chorographia* I, 24, it is better described in Pliny's *Naturalis Historia* V, 18: 'Ipsa provincia ab oriente montuosa fert elephantos, in Abila quoque monte et quos Septem Fratres a simili altitudine appellant. Freto imminent iuncti Abilae'.

by Sem, the elder son of Noah, 230 years before the Great Deluge.[11] Generating many misunderstandings about the names and dates that could be inferred from the Book of Genesis, this identification led to the historically unsustainable claim that Ceuta was the oldest city in the world.[12] Later, Arab geographers examined the descriptions and assessments of the site with new rigor and proposed a more accurate vision of the city and its history before the Portuguese conquest. Still, if this new vision rejected much of the mythology, the legendary origins of Ceuta remained an important motivation for several conquests, including those of the Portuguese.

The same is true for Tangier. Strategically situated, the mythological roots of the city are described by Roman authors at a time when it served as capital of the Roman province of *Mauritania Tingitana*, an area that corresponds approximately to Northwest Africa today. Already in the Greek period, this area had earned the designation of *Ampelusia* because of its proximity to a cape, known today as Spartel, the site of Hercules' mythical cave. Both Pliny the Elder in his *Naturalis Historia* and Pomponius Mela in *De Chorographia* had instead attributed the foundation of Tangier to the giant Antaeus, who had fought Hercules in Lixus, where the Garden of the Hesperides was situated.[13] Soon after, under Roman domination, the name of Antaeus' widow Tinge was adopted to name the place Taingis.[14] Thus, the mythological origin of Tangier had been established, and with that its status as a regional urban nucleus.

One would need to move forward in time to the transition from the early to the late Middle Ages and, with the help of short descriptions made by Arab geographers,[15] attempt a more formal approach to the Islamic image of the city inherited by the Portuguese, to understand how the appetite for its possession can also be translated into a symbolic urban regeneration.

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11 Baeza Herratzi A., "La Fundación de Ceuta y la Fábula de Noé", in Ripoll Perelló E. (ed.), *Actas del Congreso Internacional "El Estrecho de Gibraltar"* (Ceuta: 1987 – Madrid: 1988) vol. II, 678.

12 See Baeza Herratzi, "La Fundación de Ceuta" 674–676.

13 Pliny, *Naturalis Historia* V, 3. The ruins of Lixus are located on the northern shore of the mouth of the river Loukos, opposite the present city of Larache.

14 Plutarch, *Lives*, "The Life of Sertorius" 9.

15 Al Ansari, "La physionomie monumentale de Ceuta: un hommage nostalgique à la ville par un de ses fils, Muhammad B. Al-Qasim Al Ansari", *Hespéris-Tamuda* 20–21 (1982–1983) 113–162.

Even if the political division between the coasts of the Atlantic Iberian Peninsula and Northwest Africa became more pronounced over time, contacts by sea had been frequent since Antiquity. Therefore, the Portuguese must have been familiar with the way these cities previously had presented themselves. From 1249 onwards, with the conquest of the Algarve, Portugal conducted ever more frequent sea-raids along the African coasts in search of fishing resources or opportunities for piracy. At the same time, others ventured in this region as well, as illustrated by the Italian ventures along the coast to Safi since the mid-thirteenth century or the dispute over the Canary Islands during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. These circumstances contributed significantly to the topographical information and to the sailing expertise available to the Portuguese. Therefore, the capture of Ceuta in 1415 is to be understood as the transposition of a religious conflict from Iberia to the Maghreb underpinned by both strategic and symbolical motives; and not as an isolated adventure.

The Christian Consecration and Adaptation of Mosques

Ceuta was captured on 21 August 1415 after a tripartite assault led by Don João I and his three sons Duarte, Pedro and Henrique. From theories suggested by the coeval *Livro dos Arautos* and the *Crónica da Tomada de Ceuta* ['Chronicle of the Conquest of Ceuta'][16] to more recent assumptions, many reasons were adduced to explain the conquest of that city. Among inventions about the rich resources of grain in the city's surroundings and speculations about the access to yet unknown Christian worlds, one must register aspects of nobility or military enthusiasm, commercial strategy, religious fervour and attempts of the recently established Avis dynasty, which tried to cover up its 'illegitimate' origins.[17]

As the chronicles make clear, the investiture of the royal princes as knights by Don João I is among the most famous and applauded

[16] *Livro dos Arautos = De Ministerio Armorum*, ed. A.A. do Nascimento (Lisbon: 1977); Gomes Eanes de Zurara, *Crónica da Tomada de Ceuta*, ed. F.M.E. Pereira (Lisbon: 1915) and Gomes Eanes de Zurara, *Crónica da Tomada de Ceuta*, ed. A. Pimenta (Lisbon: 1942).

[17] Cf. Braga I.D. – Braga P.D., *Ceuta Portuguesa 1415–1656* (Ceuta: 1998) 27–32 and Bethencourt F. – Chaudhuri K. (eds.), *História da Expansão portuguesa* (Lisbon: 1998) vol. I, 120.

episodes of this first conquest. The royal chronicler Zurara dedicated an entire chapter of his *Chronica de El-Rei D. João I* to this event.[18] Citing classical precedents, his words extol the virtue of fighting the 'infidels' and the honour acquired by their defeat.[19] In an allusion to the eternal capacity of such acts to amaze the world, the text recalled how ancient philosophers preached a similar level of glory.[20]

The investiture constitutes one of the most rhetorical acts of the change of epistemology that was about to transform Islamic urban areas into Christian bastions. Tellingly, it took place in the main mosques of the cities, which had just been consecrated as churches. Both the chronicle mentioned above and the *Crónica da Tomada de Ceuta* by Zurara cover the dedication and consecration of Ceuta's former mosque.[21] Assisted by clergymen dressed in their best garments, who had travelled on the ships of Portuguese army, the main priest blessed the building with aspersions of water and salt. All walls of the mosque were sprinkled with Holy water, beginning with the east wall – the *qibla* wall, facing Mecca. After prayers, a newly fabricated altar was set up, and it was blessed with aspersions of Holy water in the sign of the Cross. The words 'This is the house of the Lord God […]' consecrated the former Muslim building as a Christian church.[22] Finally, the altar was covered with delicate white cloth and a *Te Deum Laudamus* was sung accompanied by the sound of trumpets.

This ceremony would be repeated in all cities conquered by the Portuguese in the Maghreb, as for instance Qsar es-Seghir.[23] Here, too, the installation of a new altar in the mosque provided the building with

[18] Gomes Eanes de Zurara, *Chronica de El-Rei D. João I* (Lisbon: 1899–1900) vol. III, chapt. 95.

[19] Ibidem vol. III, chapt. 94.

[20] Ibidem.

[21] Zurara, *Crónica da tomada de Ceuta* 90–91. See Brásio A., "A primitiva catedral de Ceuta", in *História e Missiologia. Inéditos e Esparsos* (Luanda: 1973) 56–83.

[22] Zurara, *Crónica de El-Rei D. João I*, vol. III, 91–92: 'Esta é a casa do Senhor Deus, a qual é bem fundada sobre firme pedra, levante-se o senhor e destrua os seus inimigos por tal que fujam todos aquelles que aborrecem a sua face, dizendo ainda, a minha casa se chamará de oração, recontarei o teu nome aos meus irmãos, no meio da tua egreja te louvarei'.

[23] There are three main chronicles regarding the Portuguese establishment in Qsar es-Seghir: Rui de Pina, *Chronica d'El-Rei D. Affonso V* (Lisbon: 1901); Gomes Eanes de Zurara, *Crónica do Conde D. Duarte de Meneses*, ed. L. King (Lisbon: 1978) and Damião de Góis, *Crónica do Príncipe D. João*, ed. G.A. Rodrigues, Universidade Nova de Lisboa (Lisbon: 1977).

the essential prerogative for the Mass of dedication.[24] The religious ceremony was the first non-military act to take place within the walls of the conquered city.

The Christian consecration of mosques made use of typological features of the buildings, such as their spatial orientation. As the mosques in this region typically face Mecca to the East or East-Southeast, their adaptation to Christian purposes posed little difficulties. In order to convert it into the new main altar, the *mihrab* (the niche marking the *qibla* wall) was substituted with a cross or a Christian statue. Thus, the orientation towards the East required for Christian temples was maintained without major adjustments. Another straightforward yet equally charged form of appropriation was the adoption of the minaret as bell tower. Other transformations implied more radical shifts in spatial organisation, such as the reorientation of the naves parallel and perpendicular to the *qibla* of mosques, in order to generate the plan and section of a basilica with a clearly defined central axis focused on the altar. While the building at first preserved its box-like appearance, covered with a monotonous rhythm of consecutive scissor roofs and containing an undifferentiated grid of pillars and juxtaposed aisles, now it was being reorganised around the central aisle, which became the main nave of the new Christian church. The wide dissemination of the model of the Umayyad mosque of Damascus in the western Mediterranean favoured such an amendment. For example, in Ceuta, the central aisle of the mosque was already larger than the others, facilitating the transformation into a Christian church. Raising the height of this central nave would definitely help it to attain the global morphological model of a basilica. Finally, the new faith was broadcasted publicly on the main façade.

This strategy of transformation was adopted in all conquered cities along the coast, regardless of the status of city or town. Some places, where mosques would be consecrated as cathedrals with a residing bishop, could be then called a *cidade* (city), headquarters of a diocese. *Vila* (town) would be the denomination for parishes established around a church. Ceuta, a city, or Qsar es-Seghir, a town, are interesting examples of the transformation of their most important religious buildings.[25]

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[24] For details related to the consecration of the Qsar es-Seghir mosque, see Pina, *Chronica d'El-Rei D. Affonso V* 778 and Góis, *Crónica do Príncipe D. João* 38.

[25] See Gozalbes Cravioto C., *El urbanismo religioso y cultural de Ceuta en la Edad Media* (Ceuta: 1995) and Redman C.L. – Bonne J.L., "Qsar es-Seghir (Alcácer Ceguer):

In the case of Ceuta, the desire to turn the main mosque into a cathedral was expressed soon after the conquest. In perfect accordance with the religious motivations underlying the crossing of the Strait, Aymar Aurillac already had taken pride in the title of Bishop of Morocco with his seat in Ceuta since 1413, well two years before the conquest and he does not seem to have travelled to Africa since.[26] Although historical descriptions, including Al Ansari's, have caused some confusion about the exact site and scale of Ceuta's medieval mosque, it was located in the southwest sector of the medina, between the *kasbah* and the southern seashore. This way, it appears in the view of Ceuta in the first volume Braun's *Civitates Orbis Terrarum* (1572), where it is indicated as 'Templu(m) Summu(m)' [Fig. 1]. The engraving shows how the building has the section of a basilica, extended by side naves, as it was used for the Christian cult in the sixteenth century. Inside, there was a hypostyle hall with 180 columns, as documented by Nicolas Lanckman of Falkenstein, priest and representative of Frederick III of Habsburg, who travelled in D. Leonor's train to the city in November 1451.[27]

By opening a square in front of the cathedral, the main façade acquired dignity and its entrance became a focal point in the urban space. After the first building campaign, no significant architectural alterations were made, and the cathedral remained within the former mosque until the end of the seventeenth century, that is, the entire period of Portuguese occupation.[28]

The mosque of Qsar es-Seghir on the southern coast of the Strait of Gibraltar underwent a similar process of transformation. Since the site was never taken over by Morocco after the Portuguese left in 1550,

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a 15th and 16th Century Portuguese Colony in North Africa", *Studia* 41–42 (1979) 1–57.

[26] Jordão L.M., *Memória histórica sobre os bispados de Ceuta e Tânger* (Lisbon: 1858) 3.

[27] Brásio, "A primitiva catedral de Ceuta" 66. If one counts five longitudinal naves and seventeen transversal ones, and if one conceives a system of double column, together with the pilasters of the walls, that number is achieved. Gozalbes Cravioto, *El urbanismo religioso* 93 attempts a reconstitution but suggests that the number of 180 columns can be reached or even exceeded if one takes into account the columns that used to separate the former ablution courts, suggesting that Leonor's priest may not have been entirely accurate.

[28] Pérez del Campo L., "Etapas en la construcción de la catedral de Ceuta", in Ripoll Perelló E. (ed.), *Actas del Congreso Internacional "El Estrecho de Gibraltar"* 42–43. In 1648, Mascarenhas confirmed this in his description and history of the city of Ceuta: 'La sancta iglesia es de fabrica antiquísima, por qu'antes de ser consagrada al verdadero Dios, avia sido Mesquita', cited in Mascarenhas J., *História de la ciudad de Ceuta (1648)* (Ceuta – Málaga: 1995) 17.

Fig. 1. *Septa* (Ceuta) in the early sixteenth century, in Braun et alii, *Civitates orbis terrarum*, 6 vols. (Cologne: 1572) vol. I, fol. 57r.

it is today the only surviving archaeological site in the area with very eloquent Islamic-Portuguese strata [Fig. 2]. After the conquest, the main mosque was immediately turned into the principal church of the town with only minor transformations.[29] Apart from the evident adjustment of the minaret as a bell tower, the naves retained their

[29] Both Redman – Bonne, "Qsar es-Seghir (Alcácer Ceguer)" 20 and Dias P., *A Arquitectura dos Portugueses em Marrocos, 1415–1769* (Coimbra: 2000) 65, identify the main church as *Santa Maria da Misericórdia*, Our Lady of Mercy. However, ancient chronicles contradict each other. While Pina, *Chronica* 778 uses this designation, Góis, *Crónica* 38 notes the dedication of this former mosque to *Nossa Senhora da Conceição*, Our Lady of Conception.

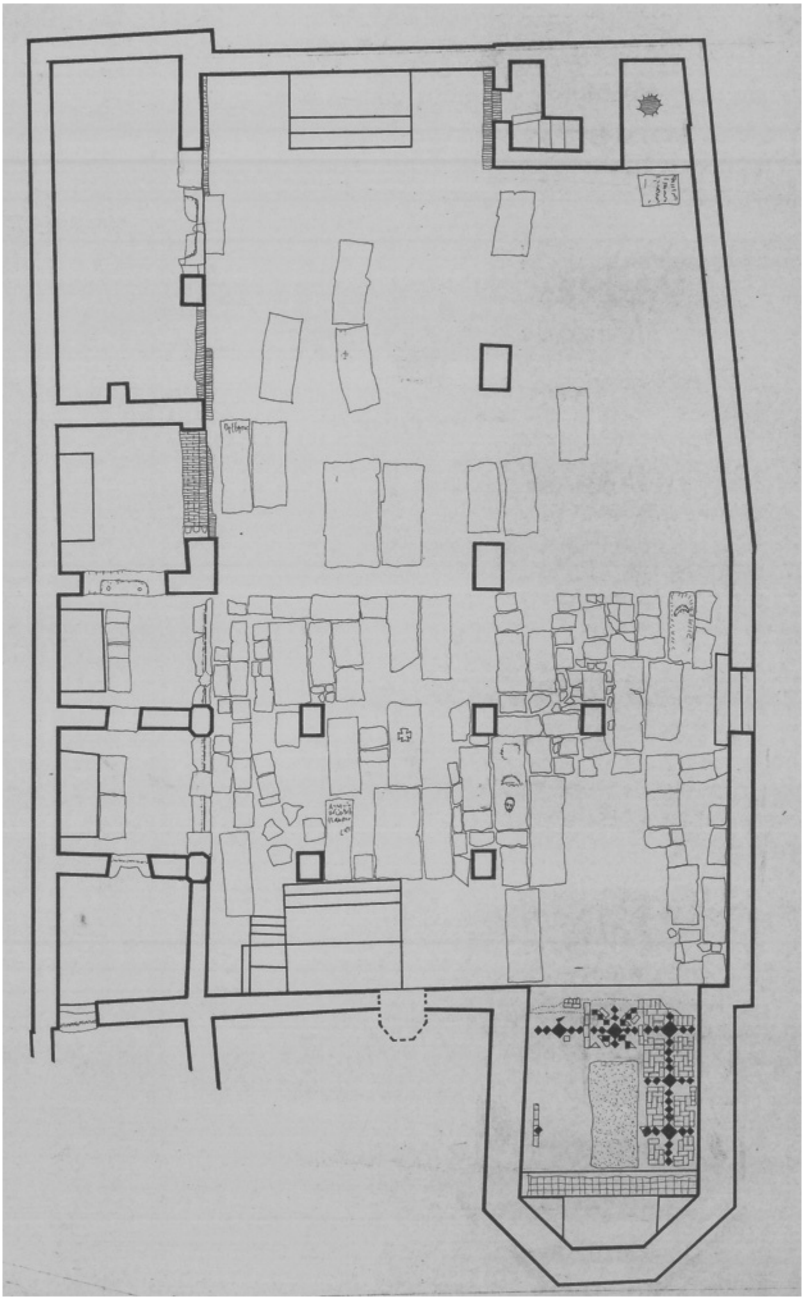

Fig. 2. Qsar es-Seghir. Plan of the ruins of the mosque/church. American Archeological Mission, 1978. Image © Inspection des Monuments Historiques, Tangier, Morocco.

original orientation; at the end of the nave, next to the old *mihrab*, an eccentric pentagonal main chapel was added. On the southeast wall, side altars were housed in small painted chapels.[30]

The Christian dedication of mosques was indeed among the most important symbols of the change of faith brought about by the new crusade. Especially the conquests of the fifteenth century in the north illustrate the importance of consecrating the conquered spaces in order to establish the Portuguese crown. In fact, the patron saint of Ceuta was Our Lady of Africa. All governors asked for the blessing of this cult image when they arrived in or departed from the city; and during their absence, the city baton was left in her hands. The image still fulfils its protective role today, now for the chief of police of the Spanish enclave.

For the settlements further south, where suzerainty pacts were widespread, commercial interests were more important than the crusading agenda. The main concern of these settlements was indeed to draw profit from Saharan caravans, which, through Marrakesh, would arrive at the nearest Atlantic ports to trade their goods. As soon as political jurisdiction was achieved, however, similar dedication ceremonies took place. Nevertheless, the substitution of Christian symbols in the urban fabric of a Muslim region went far beyond the dedication ceremonies. This essay wishes to look for the effective clashes of power that a European Christian kingdom imposed over a Muslim region.[31] Churches and cathedrals were created out of mosques, and European castles effaced Muslim *kasbahs* in order to recreate a new image of the city, reshaping the visual rhetoric of the cityscape.

Urban (Re)foundations

A fundamental source for the views of cities in the early modern period, Braun's *Civitates orbis terrarum*, also includes a view on Portuguese Tangier [Fig. 3].[32] The most important architectural intervention

[30] Detailed information on the decoration and surfaces of the interior of the church can be found in Redman – Boone, "Qsar es-Seghir (Alcácer Ceguer)" 20–22.

[31] Correia J., *Implantation de la ville portugaise en Afrique du Nord: de la prise de Ceuta jusqu'au milieu du XVI^e^ siècle* (Porto: 2008).

[32] Georg Braun – Frans Hogenberg– Simon Novellanus, *Civitates orbis terrarum*, 6 vols. (Cologne: Philippus Galleus: 1572) vol. I. As with the other drawings of North

Fig. 3. *Tingis, Lusitanis, Tangiara* (Tangier) in the early sixteenth century, in Braun et alii, *Civitates orbis terrarum*, 6 vols. (Cologne: 1572) vol. I, fol. 57r.

in the new 'emperor's' city was a late-Gothic castle over the *kasbah*. The building was a tall, compact and towered structure that controlled Tangier from above. Mostly blind at ground level, it was pierced on the first floor and topped by a tiled roof. The new structure implied the demolition of the previous Moorish palace and fortification. In the last quarter of the fifteenth century, Don João II built another castle, *Castelo Novo* ('New Castle') near the port. This building was erected on a lower level, its main purpose being to protect shipments of provisions from the city in the event of a siege. A square tower crowned by *machicoulis* with small cylindrical watch-towers in the corners supported a heavily inclined wooden and roof-tiled structure. Both castles employed the latest medieval architectural features seen in Portugal or in territories recently added to the Portuguese crown, and Braun's engraving emphasized them as the two most representative structures of Tangier.

The donjon of the *Castelo Novo* was typologically similar to the one in Asilah, represented in another view by Braun [Fig. 4]. It was certainly designed and built by Diogo Boytac, who was in Asilah between 1509 and 1510.[33] It contained a prison on the ground floor, a guard-room on the first floor and was crowned with an audience hall for the governor on the top floor.[34] From the lavishly decorated window of his office, the governor proclaimed royal orders to the population of Asilah gathered below in the public square.

The architecture of the towers in Tangier and Asilah should be understood in rhetorical terms. After all, the emergence of artillery had rendered their military characteristics obsolete. Their architectural iconography was a discourse of power, broadcasting Christian presence in Africa. The atavistic donjon of Asilah, for instance, is clearly disjointed from the rebuilt bastions and walls, which clearly were built taking into account pre-modern developments in military technology. Today, the donjon still stands as the only remaining medieval tower on the African continent [Fig. 5].

African cities (Septa, Arzilla, Sala and Tzaffin), this is an adaptation of an original drawing dating from the beginning of the sixteenth century.

[33] *Archivo Histórico Portuguez* (Lisbon: 1903–1918) 365: '[…] Mandámos ora tomar a Diego de Alvarenga, cavaleiro da nossa casa, de todo o dinheiro e cousas que recebeo e despendeo nas obras da nossa villa de arzila, os annos de 509 e 510, em pagamento dos soldos da gente que na dita villa serviu, […]; e 10:000 rs. de mestre Butaqua; […]'.

[34] *Arzila, Torre de Menagem* [*Le donjon d'Asilah*] (Lisbon: 1995) 43.

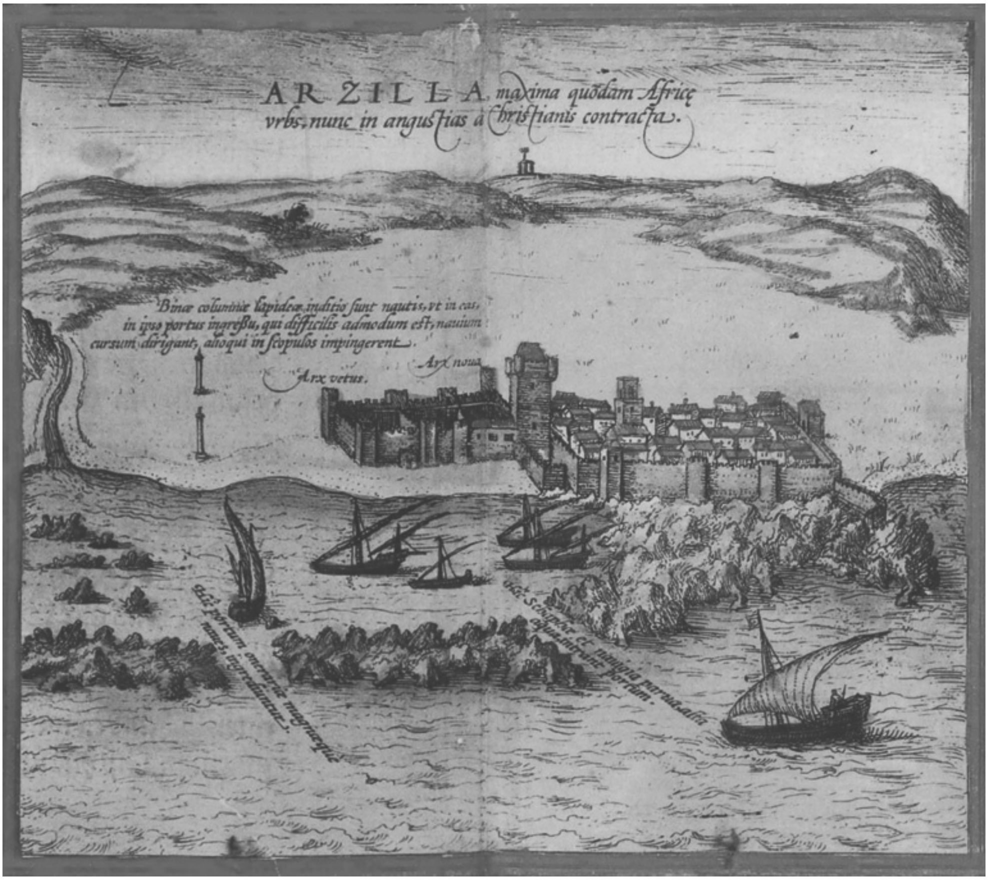

Fig. 4. *Arzilla* (Asilah) in the early sixteenth century, in Braun et alii, *Civitates orbis terrarum*, 6 vols. (Cologne: 1572) vol. I, fol. 57r–57v.

During the first quarter of the sixteenth century and further south, Don Manuel I advocated a similar symbolical style of architecture, despite ongoing military and technological innovations. In a permanently hostile environment, modern bastions were decorated with garlands exhibiting Christian crosses and the Portuguese coats of arms, such as those in Azemmour, where decorative programmes went beyond purely military pragmatism. The festive sight of flags on top of recently fortified bastions, as well as their names, such as *S. Cristóvão* ('St Christopher') and *Raio* ('Thunderbolt'), confirm that the Portuguese aimed to emphasize Christian claims on territories beyond the Mediterranean in early modern times [Fig. 6]. In fact, from a military point of view, the large range of fire shot from radial platforms was

Fig. 5. Asilah. Portuguese keep tower/donjon.

Fig. 6. Azemmour. Bastion of *S. Cristóvão* [St Christopher].

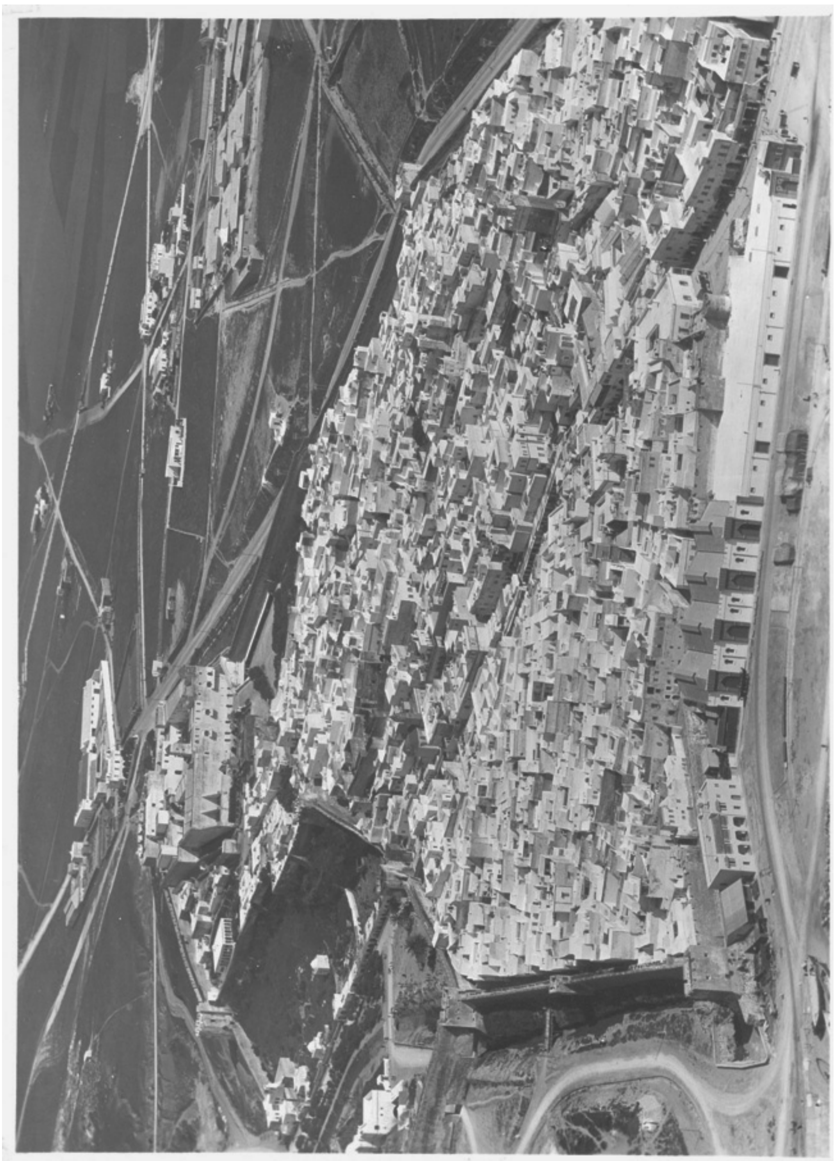

Fig. 7. Safi. Aerial view of the medina, 1925. © Direction du Patrimoine Culturel – Ministère de la Culture et Communication, Rabat, Morocco.

enough to control the hinterland. Hence, the pierced balcony, a reminiscence of close-war techniques of earlier times, decorated with flags (the flagpole holders can still be seen today), reveal the strong message the Portuguese king wished to convey to the local enemy.

Still, Portuguese interventions in their newly founded cities were primarily pragmatic in nature, oriented towards the fortresses' sustainability. To that end, their perimeter and surface were significantly reduced in a procedure known as *atalho* ('downsizing'). This highly rational technique had important consequences for the appearance of the conquered city, regularizing them geometrically, opening them to the maritime channel and re-evaluating their urban fabric. Today, these interventions are the most tangible remnants of the Portuguese implantation by conquest, implementing regular shapes and figures in the inherited Islamic urban assemblages. Building operations after conquests show a propensity for quadrangular forms, and new walls are often at square angles with pre-existing defensive structures. The Portuguese areas in Ceuta or Azemmour are contained in slightly imperfect geometrical figures, such as rectangles or squares, whereas that of Asilah consists of two rectangles. All decisions display an urgency to rationalize the curved boundary walls of the Islamic medina. The urban design of Ceuta contains yet another distinctive feature – a double *atalho* – that is encountered in only two other Portuguese '*cidades*' in the Maghreb, Tangier and Safi. Since in both cases the topography did not allow for 'rationalization', a double *atalho* was applied to change the orientation of the city, cutting through sprawling inland sections and opening the urban space to the harbour [Fig. 7]. New buildings, such as the customs, the exchequer and the mint, marked intensified exchanges between Europe and Northern Africa.

In Safi, a new large bastion on the upper castle again bore witness of both military pragmatism and symbolical intentions. Built in 1540, just one year before the Portuguese would evacuate the Maghreb, the side facing the hinterland and the enemy capital of Marrakech was decorated with the Portuguese coats of arms flanked by armillary spheres [Fig. 8]. Today known as *Bordj Dar*, the former castle bastion (*Baluarte da Alcáçova*) was the *dernier cri* of a city that had failed to dominate Morocco, denying the eve of a new era. If its disproportionate scale achieved one of its main objectives, namely to install fear, it only barely hid its obsoleteness in the face of evolving military technology. The scale of the massive volume compared to the very

Fig. 8. Safi. *Bordj Dar*, former upper castle bastion or *Baluarte da Alcáçova.*

small openings for artillery seems to identify the building as a clear frontier of power and belief. Given that the evacuation of the city was being considered as early as 1534, this last building effort in Safi shows the same (re)foundational spirit that enabled the transformation of the Tangier Kasbah in the previous century. In fact, architecture was used as a distinguished and intentional tool of the 'dedication' of the whole city to a new faith and an inherent visual and social identity in this territory.

In all cases, both military considerations and the creation of public spaces informed a new layout of the pattern of streets. The main street, the *rua Direita*, now connected the major gates of the town, the sea and the hinterland. Ideal places for meetings, markets or public announcements by the governor, the central squares generated several secondary arteries, which together with the main street tried to form a grid pattern. The inherited urban model was thus rejected and with it, the paradigm of privacy and intimacy that characterizes the traditional Mediterranean urban morphology under Islamic influence. That now was slowly replaced by the public expression of identity by means of façades inherent to European culture. As mentioned above, this process was equally inspired by new developments in Europe, where concerns with hygiene and rationalism led to the development of the late medieval *bastides* or new towns, whose exportation to Northern Africa asserts the European historical tradition of regularity expansion.

Signs of regular planning are evident in Azemmour and Asilah, geographically close to the pioneering foundation of Mazagão some decades later. Both towns benefited from large empty surfaces. In the case of Azemmour, only the former *kasbah* and mosque remained as landmarks prone to transformation [Map 4]. Christian Asilah would be reborn from the ashes of the 1508 Moorish assault, whose destruction of the city enabled an almost *ex novo* foundation. In both cases, the conditions allowed the Portuguese to apply principles of grid planning, mainly by creating long rectangular blocks of similar proportions. Urbanism worked as a powerful instrument of cultural affirmation, obliterating a cultural legacy that was still very present in the southern Iberian Peninsula. This late Reconquest process alerted Portugal to its own medieval condition at the time and nudged the nation towards early modernity.

Map 4. Azemmour. Architectural survey of the Kasbah/Mellah quarter with a hypothesis of the Portuguese urban fabric.

Conclusion

This paper demonstrates that the (re)foundation of cities as part of the Portuguese realm implied religious, social and military processes. Ceremonies, such as consecration masses or cavalry investitures, occurred together with the physical transformation of the city. '(Re)foundation' involved symbolical behaviour in line with the (re)design of the city's buildings and public space, resulting in a new cityscape. Diachronic encounters between two different concepts and cultures have stressed the instruments of appropriation the Portuguese used in Northwest Africa for the establishment of these enclaves. My argument took into account three main aspects: an inspiration from classical mythology; a noble class that was still clearly medieval in its cavalry approach and warrior impetus; and a pragmatic behaviour that combined survival with rationality.

But perhaps more fundamentally, these processes formed part of a larger notion of political foundation and religious dedication imposed over a hostile and 'unfaithful' land.[35] Ownership and authority bestowed Don João I, Don Afonso V and later Don Manuel I with the aura of 'princes of the Renaissance'. The 'classical' origins evoked by the conquests of Ceuta and Tangier would relate them to the emerging humanist culture, while positioning them at the heart of the Christian endeavour. For Portugal, the Maghreb did not represent the discovery or colonisation of a new world; instead, it may have acted as a laboratory for experimental military technology and architecture. Yet, definitely, it represented the irreversible emergence of ideas related to the early modern state.

[35] From the long bibliography on this subject, see Peres D. (ed.), *História de Portugal*, 8 vols. (Barcelos: 1928–1954) vol. III, chapters 3–5; part II of Braga – Braga, *Ceuta Portuguesa* and Oliveira Marques, *Nova História da Expansão Portuguesa*.

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BUILDING A SENSE OF BELONGING. THE FOUNDATION OF VALLETTA IN MALTA

Carmelina Gugliuzzo

A landmark in the history of the Maltese islands, the victory of 1565 represented a turning point in the struggle of Christendom against the Ottoman Empire. As early as October 1564, rumours circulated about an attack of the Ottomans on the island of Malta. The Grand Master of the Order of St John of Jerusalem, Jean Parisot de La Valette, immediately ordered the return of all Knights to the Convent – the headquarters of the Order in Birgu – and appealed for assistance in preparing the imminent siege.[1] To the Turks, the conquest of Malta would have cleared the path for their advance towards Italy and Central Europe, threatening directly the Holy Roman Empire.

The Turkish Armada that besieged the Maltese archipelago between 18 May and 8 September 1565 consisted of some 200 galleys and 40.000 men, among them the Janissaries, the personal bodyguard of the Sultan. Despite the overwhelming power of the Turks, the Great Siege of Malta resulted in the victory of the Order of St John of Jerusalem.[2] Among the most celebrated events of the sixteenth century, it was perceived as a decisive turning point in the struggle over the Mediterranean between the Christian and Ottoman Empires [Map 5]. Having always been an arena for conflicts and exchange, the political structure of the Mediterranean was deeply transformed during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. With the Turkish conquest of Constantinople in 1453, the Mediterranean was contested between the Ottoman and Habsburg empires, each representing different cultural and religious values. Fear and intolerance towards the 'Other' developed the notion

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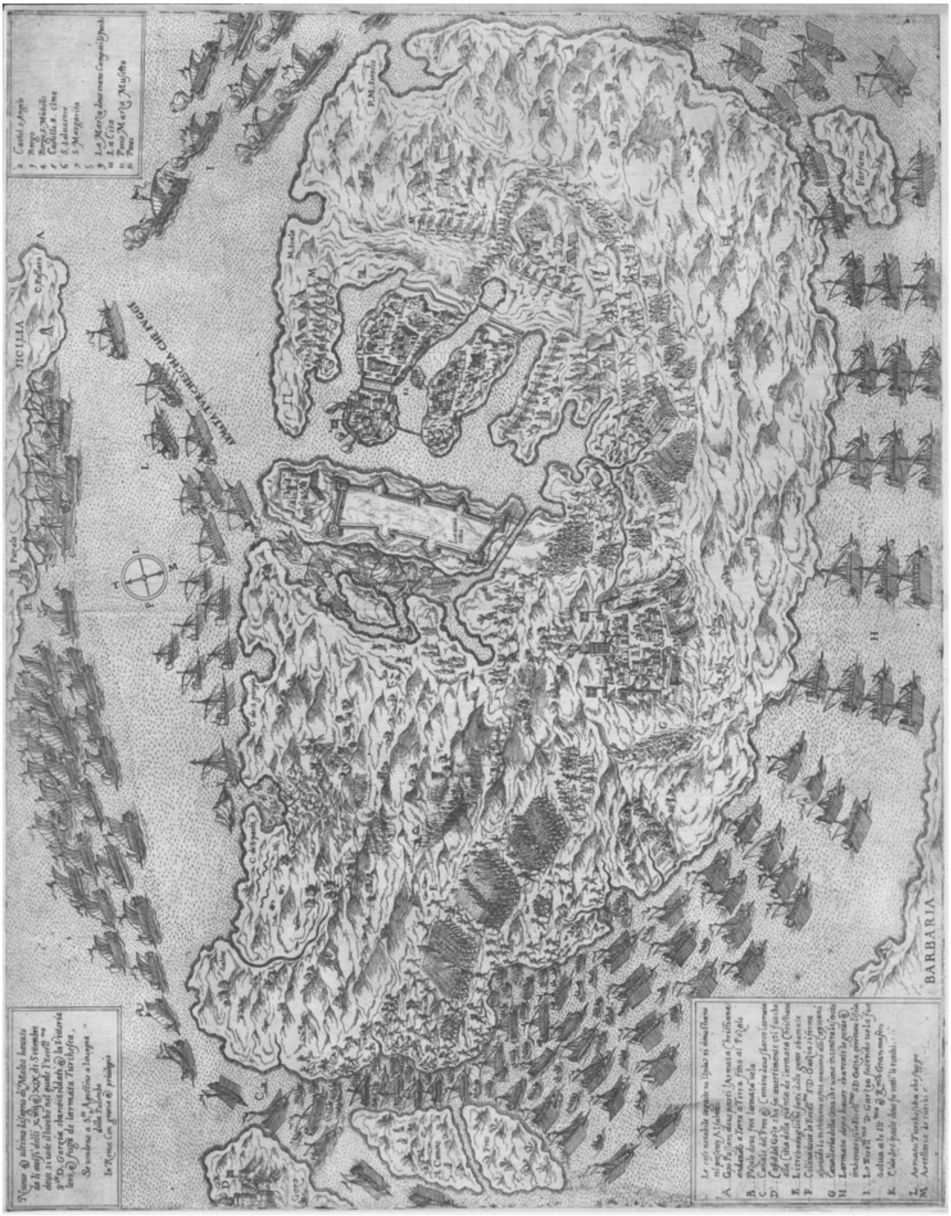
[1] Jean Parisot de La Valette had been elected Grand Master of the Order of St John on 21 August 1557. Descending from a noble French family, his ancestors had been crusaders, and had fought side by side with St Louis. Mallia-Milanes V., "Fra Jean de La Valette – 1495–1568 – A Reappraisal", in Cortis T. (ed.), *The Maltese Cross* (Malta: 1994) 117–129.

[2] Bradford E, *The Great Siege: Malta 1565* (Ware: 1999); Restifo G., "Il Grande Assedio di Malta del 1565", in Motta G. (ed.), *I Turchi. Il Mediterraneo e l'Europa* (Milan: 1998) 11–23.



Map 5. Plan of Malta during the Great Siege of 1565, Turkish vessels in flight top right. Engraving, 40 × 51 cm. London, British Museum 1874,0613.586 (© Trustees of the British Museum).

that the war against the 'Infidels' was a legitimate and above all 'holy' war. When the Turks threatened the unity of the Empire and the Church in 1530, Juan Ginés de Sepúlveda[3] urged Charles V on waging war upon the 'infidel' Turks in name of a civilization based on the 'True religion.'[4]

Supported by an impressive collection of titles and crowns, the young Charles V cherished the ideal of a universal monarchy, uniting the Mediterranean under one single Faith.[5] In this vision, Malta served as the rampart of the Spanish Mediterranean.

Within the Order, the victory of the Great Siege was cultivated for a long time.[6] Even when the Turkish danger had long disappeared and the Knights devoted themselves to inglorious sacks and plunders, the Order continued to denounce imminent danger of the Turks on different occasions (1614, 1645, 1703 and 1712) in order to justify their existence. The successful outcome of the Grand Siege of 1565 also vindicated the humiliating losses the Order had suffered at Rhodes in 1522 and in Tripoli in 1551. The loss of Rhodes to Suleyman the Magnificent had created a material and moral crisis within the Order, at a time when Europe was afflicted by threats of war. The defeat plunged the Order in a deep crisis of identity, questioning the institution's relevance to contemporary Christendom.

A History of the Order

Originated as a charitable institution for pilgrims in Jerusalem, the Order of the Hospitallers had become military involved in the fights of the crusaders as the conditions in the Holy Land for them got more

[3] Rodríguez Peregrina E., "Juan Ginés de Sepúlveda, un historiador al servicio de Carlos V" in *Actas del Congreso Internacional sobre el V Centenario del Nacimiento del Dr. J.G. de Sepúlveda* (Cordoba: 1993) 107–127.

[4] Prosperi A., "'Guerra giusta' e cristianità divisa tra Cinquecento e Seicento", in Franzinelli M. – Bottoni R. (eds.), *Chiesa e guerra. Dalla "benedizione delle armi" alla "Pacem in terris"* (Bologna: 2005) 60.

[5] Ever since his Appointment to chancellor in 1518, Mercurino Gattinara urged Charles V to create a dynastic empire. Fontenay M., "Charles Quint, Malte et la défense de la Méditerranée", *Revue d'Histoire Moderne et Contemporaine* 50, 4 (2003) 9.

[6] Ganado A., "A Manuscript Siege-Map of Malta Recently Discovered", in Fiorini S. (ed.), *Proceedings of the History Week 1984* (Malta: 1986); Ganado A., "The Siege Map of Malta by Francesco De Marchi", in Grima J.F. (ed.), *Proceedings of the History Week 1986* (Malta: 1992).

difficult.[7] Even when they were forced to leave Jerusalem, after the fall of the Kingdom of Jerusalem and Acre in 1291, the Knights of the Order would remain deeply hostile to Muslim powers. After a brief period on Cyprus, the Hospitallers established themselves on Rhodes in 1310. Over the next two centuries, they became a major force in both political and military affairs of the Latin East. Organized in different geographical-cultural subgroups, the *Tongues* of the Order developed on Rhodes into corporations with their own officers, incomes, finances and responsibilities.

But because the traditional crusading ideals were gradually abandoned in favour of national interests, the position of the international chivalric Order became ever more anomalous in the European political system. Without a military role, the Order could scarcely justify its existence. Deprived from their possessions in Protestant lands, the Order depended on the good will of Catholic rulers in order to preserve their remaining properties, and secure the survival of the Convent, or headquarters of the Order.

The Isle of Malta and the Settlement of the Order

After the defeat on Rhodes in 1522, the Knights left the island of Rhodes on 1 January 1523 under command of Grand Master Philippe de Villiers de L'Isle Adam. They were accompanied by some three hundred Rhodians – both Latin and Greek –, who would follow the Knights on their travels across Europe. After negotiations about a new home for the Order with the pope and the western powers, the Grand Master ordered reports upon conditions in Malta, Gozo and Tripoli. The choice of L'Isle Adam fell in the end on Malta, despite the sterility of the land and the lack of fortifications. Yet, the geographical proximity of the island to 'enemy' territory enabled the continuation of the statutory 'holy war'. Moreover, the spacious harbours of Malta and the convenient distance from the Catholic mainland safeguarded the Order's autonomous and neutral position. On 24 March 1530, Charles V signed the deed of donation, which was ratified by the Council of

[7] The organization of the Knights Hospitallers was founded with a papal bull of 1113, which put the Order under the protection of the Pope and gave the Order permission to enjoy the revenues it collected.

the Order on 25 April and by Pope Clement VIII on 7 May.[8] Ambassadors of the Order were sent to Messina to deliver the documents of the donation to the Viceroy of Sicily, Don Ettore Pignatelli, and to take the oath of fealty to Charles V and his successors.

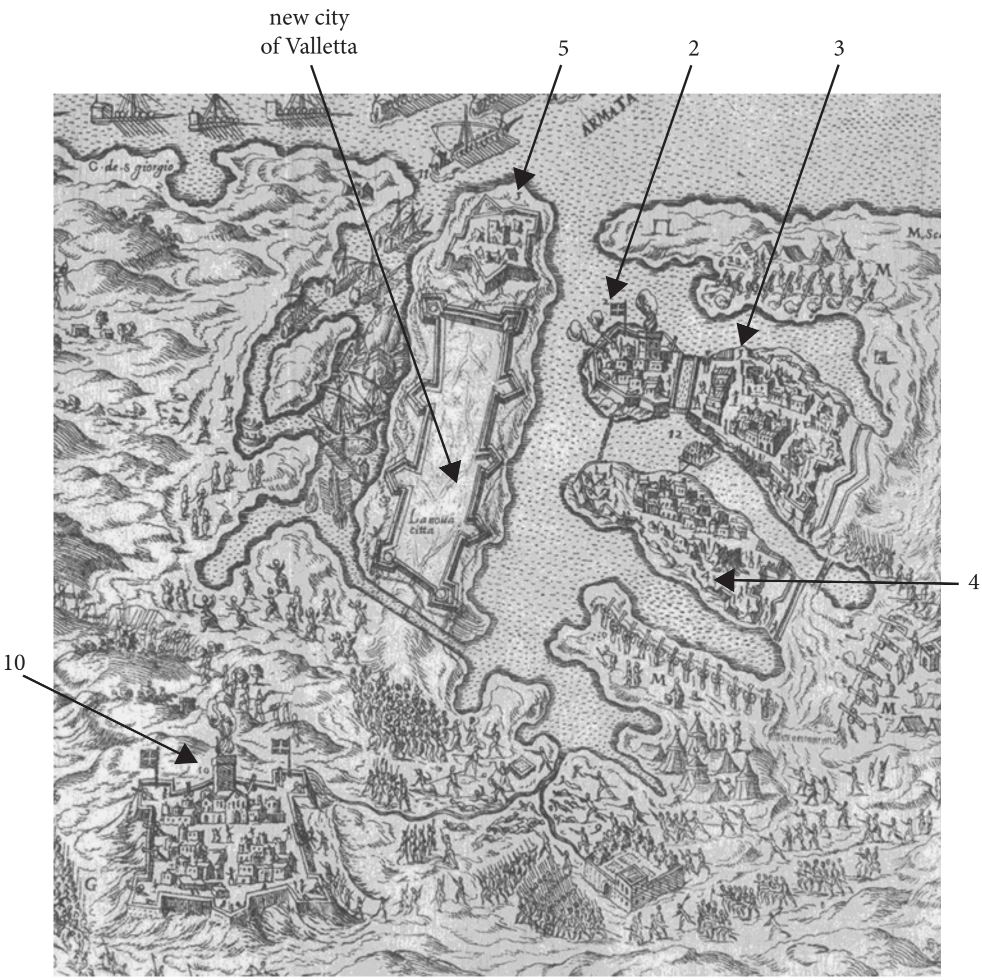
This way, the Hospitaller Knights of St John of Jerusalem accepted the offer of the Emperor Charles V to establish themselves on the Maltese Islands and defend them against the Ottomans. This was all to the advantage of Charles V's political scheme. Having now secured the Central Mediterranean with assistance of the Order, the emperor had far greater freedom of movement in the Western Mediterranean. In addition to Malta and Gozo, the Order also took possession of the castle of Tripoli, a Spanish outpost on the African coast. They did so reluctantly, as Tripoli was poorly fortified, surrounded by hostile Muslim tribes on all three sides. The defence of Tripoli drained resources until it was definitively lost in 1551.

While there were enough reasons for the Order to establish itself on Malta, the local population was not too pleased with the newcomers. The local nobility and gentry, most of them originating from Sicily and Spain, regarded the Order as usurper of their rights and privileges. Handing over the Maltese islands to the Knights Hospitallers meant the end of a privilege of 1428, which had incorporated the islands within the Crown of Aragon and had offered exemption from taxes over goods imported from Sicily and Naples.

Despite some initial hostilities, the Knights established themselves permanently at Malta in 1531. To protect their new headquarters, the Hospitallers undertook an extensive programme of fortification. The newly fortified *Castello a Mare* (Fort St Angelo) and its suburb Birgu[9] became their first accommodation and safe haven for their galleys [Map 6]. While deciding where to establish themselves, the Hospitallers also had to adapt their constitution and traditions to

[8] Mallia-Milanes V., "La donazione di Malta da parte di Carlo V all'Ordine di San Giovanni", in Anatra B. – Manconi F. (eds.), *Sardegna, Spagna e Stati italiani nell'età di Carlo V* (Roma: 2001) 141. As emperor, Charles V retained *dominio diretto* over Malta, Gozo and Tripoli, the *giuspatronato* over the Church and the right of apostolic delegation. See also: Mallia-Milanes V. – Scerri L., *An Uneasy Partnership. Malta 1530–1565* (Malta: 1985). On the relationships between the Order and Sicily: Giuffrida A., "La Sicilia e l'Ordine di Malta (1529–1550). La centralità della periferia mediterranea", *Quaderni – Mediterranea. Ricerche storiche* 2 (2006) 101–139 (accessible online at www.mediterranearicerchestoriche.it).

[9] Birgu, a corruption from Romance *borgo* 'suburb', received its epithet 'Vittoriosa' after the Grand Siege of 1565.



Map 6. Detail of Map 5, indicating, below, (10) the old city; (2) Fortress S. Angelo; and (3) the suburb 'Birgu' built in 1531; (4) Borgo S. Michele and (5) Castello S. Elmo, both built in 1552; and the new city of Valletta, no number.

new circumstances. Although the inland city of Mdina – the seat of the Maltese *Università* – was healthier and more comfortable, Birgu became the Order's stronghold, because of its strategic position, and its relative isolation from the local population. In 1552, Fort St Elmo was built to improve the island's defences [Map 6]. The fortifications of Birgu were also strengthened several times in this period.

Paradoxically enough, the Order's presence on Malta provoked a greater westward expansion of the Ottomans. Before the arrival of the Knights, the inhabitants of Malta and Gozo had spent their lives in tranquillity, apart from for the occasional incursion of Barbary corsairs. That was now to change, as the Grand Siege had demonstrated. And even worse, a new attack was in the air. Furious over the defeat of his troops, the Grand Signeur in Constantinople announced his plans to attack Malta again the following spring. At this point, the defenses of Malta were in ruins and the treasury was empty: the long Siege had disrupted the economic resources and infrastructure of the island.

Confronted with this crisis, some members of the Council suggested to abandon Malta altogether.[10] The new Grand Master Jean Parisot de La Valette decided otherwise, namely to found a new city on the empty peninsula named Sceb-er-ras (also spelled as Xiberras, or Sheb-ir-ras).[11] While plans to develop this site circulated well before the Great Siege, now was the opportunity to realize them, in order to strengthen the military position of Malta and to create a 'sense of belonging' for the Knights on the island.

The Foundation of a New City

The developments in strategic warfare and technology had rendered Malta's medieval pattern of defence obsolete. A few months after the Grand Siege, in January 1566, the Order asked help from powers abroad for the construction of a new city, to counter new attacks from the Turks. The Pope, the King of France, Philip II of Spain and King Sebastian of Portugal all contributed generously. Pope Pius IV also

[10] Mallia-Milanes V. (ed.), *Introduction* to *Hospitaller Malta 1530–1798* (Malta: 1993) 13.

[11] This strip of land was known to the Maltese as *Xagħriet Mewwija* (the best interpretation seems to be 'the inhabited plain') and its extreme point as Mount Sceb-ir-ras ('the light of the point').

sent his architect Francesco Laparelli da Cortona, assistant of Michelangelo and widely experienced in town planning and military defense. In December 1565, Laparelli presented his proposals to the Council. His original plan for Valletta consisted in a single large avenue with narrow streets, with a 'pleasant and sweet serpentine way' to allow for shelter from sun and winds. But in the end, Laparelli's serpentine streets were replaced with a grid.

Valletta differed in several respects from the previous capitals of the Order.[12] While the Knights had lived in Rhodes in a secluded part of the city separated from the general population, they had been unable to secure an area of their own in the city of Birgu. Instead of creating a secluded area for the Knights, Laparelli planned eight residencies for the various *Langues*, each with a spacious square in front. In April, Viceroy Don Garcia de Toledo and various engineers arrived in Malta 'to ratify the design of the City of Valletta,' according to the historian of the Order Giacomo Bosio.

Some days before the ratification, on 27 March 1566, the Council had decreed that the new city should be named Valletta, in honour of *Il Gran Valletta*, as the Grand Master was now known across Europe for his victory of the year before. The following day, the first stone of Valletta was laid, just six months after the victory of the Order and the Maltese people over the Turks.[13]

The Foundation Ceremony of Valletta

While only a month earlier, the Order had threatened to evacuate the island, it now publicly committed itself to Malta, despite the danger of new Turkish attacks and the huge task lying ahead to fortify the island. In fact, the inscription above the gate of Valletta stated that the new city had been built for the common good of the Knights and inhabitants of Malta, and the defence of Christian Europe. The foundation ceremony of Valletta thus marked a crucial point in the relations of the Order with the population of Malta.

Preparations for the laying of the foundation stone on Mount Sceber-ras had started about fourteen days earlier with the construction of

[12] Hughes J.Q., *The Building of Malta During the Period of St John of Jerusalem 1530–1795* (Malta: 1986) 6–28.

[13] Archives of the Order of Malta (AOM), ms. 91, fol. 160r.

several pavilions, tents and barracks. Laparelli and his crew worked overnight to clear the site for the foundation ceremony from rubble, trenches and graves of Turkish soldiers killed during the siege. Early that morning of 28 March 1566, the Grand Master, the Bishop of Malta, Domenico Cubelles, the Grand Prior of the Conventual Church, Fra' Antonio Cressino, and the members of the Order left the city of Birgu in a solemn and devout procession. The clergy and chaplains of the Order carried a large cross of wood, which according to Bosio had been made out of the True Cross, on which Our Lord had been crucified. Welcomed with gun salutes from St Elmo, the officials gathered underneath a canopy to assist at the mass, celebrated by Giovanni Pietro Mosquet at a temporary altar, at the present location of the Church of Our Lady of Victory [Fig. 1].[14] During Mass, the reading from the Gospel was about Jesus and the miraculous healing of the son of the widow from Naim, symbolizing the promise of the newly founded city for Malta, after the destructions of the Grand Siege.[15]

After Mass, the Augustinian Fra' Anguisciola delivered a sermon based on *Psalm* 86 (today number 87), stating that the new city of Valletta was not only a secure fortress for Malta and the Order, but also a shield for Sicily, a refuge for Italy, an obstacle for the Infidel, and glory for Christendom.[16] He took inspiration from the Psalm on the foundation of Zion, because, as 'you may already see, listeners, we are here now to found the new city on these Holy Mounts'.[17] He also recalled that Malta had been among the first places in Europe to receive the Word of Christ and that the hills of the islands had been graced with St Paul's presence and miracles.

Then followed the blessing and dedication of the area. Giovanni Pietro Mosquet first blessed the site first as a whole, and then dedicated each of the four future bastions to saints, namely SS Peter and Paul, St James, St John and St Michael, and the main gate to St George. After that, everybody returned to the proposed site of St John's bastion to lay the foundation stone in a pit especially dug for that purpose, although some suggest that the foundation stone was laid at the main

[14] This was the first Church built in Valletta. Grand Master La Valette was originally buried here, and his remains were later transferred to St John's co-Cathedral. In 1617 it became the parish church of the Order.

[15] *Luke* 7: 11–17.

[16] Zammit Ciantar J., "Orations on the Victory of the Order of St John over the Turks in 1565 and on the Occasion of the Laying of the Foundation Stone of Valletta in 1566", *Symposia Melitensia* 5 (2008) 13.

[17] Ibidem.

Fig. 1. The Church of Our Lady of Victory, Malta (photo: author).

entrance, the actual Porta San Giorgio.[18] Whatever its precise location, the foundation stone of the new city was laid with great pomp, as recorded in great detail in Laparelli's diary. He recounted that the octangular cross of the Order was engraved in the foundation stone and the following inscription in Latin:

> The most illustrious, most reverend brother, lord John de la Vallette, Grandmaster of the Hospitaller and Military Order of St John of Jerusalem, considering the danger of the infidels to which the knights and the people of Malta were exposed during the late siege, has, with consent of the council, and in order to oppose any new enterprises schemed by these barbarians, decided to build a city on Mount Sceberras; and on this day, 28 March, in the year of our Lord 1566, after having called upon the Holy Name of God, and having implored the intercession of the Holy Virgin Mother and of St John the Baptist, tutelary patron of the Order, for the benediction of Heaven on so important an undertaking, the sovereign Lord Grand-Master has laid the first stone, on which are engraved his arms; and the city is by his command to be named the City of la Valetta.[19]

The foundation stone had a cavity large enough to hold some coins of common denomination [Fig. 2] and commemorative medals, placed in a leaden cup, cast especially for the occasion. That much is referred to us as well by the historian of the Order René-Aubert de Vertot.[20] He attributed their excellent design and execution to Simon Prevost, Master of the Mint, who was admitted as Knight into the Priory of Champagne as a reward.[21]

Some of the medals represented the new city with the legend, '*Melita renascens*' ('Malta reborn'), and on the reverse, the day and year of the foundation. The copper medals all carried the portrait of Grandmaster La Vallette and a variety of designs on their reverses. Apparently, there were five in all, one of them with the outline of the future four bastions and the date 1566, and one commemorating the Great Siege of 1565 [Fig. 3].

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[18] Giacomo Bosio, *Dell'Istoria della Sacra Religione et Illustrissima Militia di San Giovanni Gierosolimitano* (Rome, Facciotto: 1602) 745.

[19] Boisgelin L., *Ancient and Modern Malta* (London: 1805) 127–128.

[20] René de Vertot, *Histoire des Chevaliers de Malte*, 4 vols. (Paris, Quillau: 1726).

[21] Codex Laparelli, ff. 37v.–38r., as quoted in De Giorgio R., *A City by an Order* (Malta: 1985) 74.

Fig. 2. Coin of the Knights of St John of Malta, depicting Grand-Master Jean de la Vallette kneeling before St John. Reverse: Christ in mandorla (private collection).

Fig. 3. Portrait medal representing Jean de la Vallette and on the reverse the Great Siege of 1565 (private collection).

At the conclusion of the ceremonies, Laparelli received from La Valette a gold chain and medallion worth 300 scudi.[22] The Grand-Master had also asked mathematician Giovanni Antonio Inferrera from Syracuse to calculate the exact time of the birth of Valletta. Inferrera probably also prepared a horoscope for presentation, which unfortunately has not survived. But Bosio states that the new city was founded at 11:18 a.m., at which time the constellation of Cancer was most auspiciously rising at twenty degrees, about forty minutes above the eastern horizon.[23] Following Inferrera's indications, Valletta was thus founded at a most propitious moment in time.[24] A city built, according to the Knights of the Order, by 'gentlemen for gentlemen'.

The Construction of Valletta

The site of the future *Humillima Civitas Valletta* ('Most Humble City')[25] now turned into a construction site for several years to come. Of first concern were the fortifications needed to resist a Turkish attack. Chief-intendent was Commander De La Fontaine, a Knight famous for his expertise in fortifications. He spent the next two years amidst the masons and craftsmen on Mount Sceb-er-ras. La Valette himself visited the site daily until his death in August 1568. Construction at Mount Sceb-er-ras continued under the new Grand Master Pietro Del Monte, who also payed daily visits to the site.

Meanwhile, many Maltese stonemasons returned from Sicily, where they had fled with their families during the Grand Siege of 1565. Their experience with local stone was now in great demand and they could make honest and regular wages.[26] Occasionally, the great numbers of slaves living on the islands to serve on the galleys were also put to work on the fortifications, even if this resulted in a restriction of naval

[22] Bosio, *Dell'Istoria della Sacra* 745.

[23] Vella Bonavita R. – Parker J. – Stafford E., "Enarrant Caeli! An Astrologer at the Foundation of Valletta", *Treasures of Malta* 11, 2 (2005) 25–30.

[24] AOM, ms. 91, fol. 164: 'Die XXVIII mensis Marti MDLXVI fuit incepta et inchoate Civitas ad montem Sancti Elmi cui quidem civitati Vallette nomen impositum fuit. Faxit Deus illud faustum ac felix'.

[25] The epithet of Humillima Civitas Valletta recalled the humility of the professed members of the Order, whose Grand Master's only title was that of humble master of the Hospital and protector of the poor and the sick in Jesus Christ.

[26] De Giorgio, *A City by an Order* 95.

capacity. According to Giacomo Bosio, the great cost of the construction – two thousand *scudi* a day – forced Grand Master Jean de la Valette and his Council to issue large quantities of copper coins to pay salaries. Every Saturday, the workmen employed at the fortifications of the new city received their week's pay in this new copper denomination. The coins bore the arms of the Grand Master and of the Order on one side and on the other the symbol of two hands clasped in faith with the motto '*non aes sed fides*' ('Not Money but Trust') and the nominal value of the pieces.[27]

After Laparelli left Malta, the local architect Geronimo (known also as Girolamo) Cassar became the Order's principal architect. Finally, in March 1571, Grand Master del Monte and a number of Knights moved from the previous headquarters of the Order to the new site in Valletta. Del Monte's appetite for fame appears to have been as strong as his predecessor's. By that time, the 'noble fortifications of Malta', already attracting foreign visitors, were almost completed. Giacomo Bosio described the new, strongly fortified urban complex as one of the 'most impregnable' fortresses 'of the world, second to no Italian city for beauty'.

Conclusion

With the growth of the state in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, the most powerful forces were intent on expanding their spheres of influence in the government. As arguments about national character and divisions of power continued, these parties invested in rituals to strengthen – or on occasion to question or to redirect – governmental authority and their status or rank within it. Rituals are historical sources for a society's temper, presenting comparative indices for understanding continuity and changes in the ways that societies constitute themselves around the central agent of legitimate power, the king.[28] In this case, the authority of the Grand Master was partly

[27] Furse P.G.F., *Il Medagliere Gerosolimitano, ossia Raccolta delle Medaglie e Monete coniate dai Gran Maestri dell'Ordine Gerosolimitano in Rodi ed in Malta* (Malta: 1864); Furse E.H., *Mémoires Numismatiques de l'Ordre Souverain de Saint Jean de Jerusalem Illustrées avec les Médailles et Monnaies Frappées par les Grands Maîtres de l'Ordre*, 2nd edition (Rome: 1889); Calleja-Schembri H., *Coins and Medals of the Knights of Malta* (London: 1908, reprinted 1966).

[28] Geertz C., *The Interpretation of Cultures: Selected Essays* (New York: 1973).

grounded in the belief that he had a sacred duty to preserve the rituals of the Order.

Furthermore, early modern foundation rituals stressed the importance of the civic and ecclesiastical authorities: they represented an *instrumentum regni*. In the Maltese case, the foundation ceremony of the new capital Valletta served two purposes: first, to strengthen the relations between the Order and the local population and secondly, to convince the Knights that Malta was their new basis. Support from the main powers of Europe in building the new city was not only of economical, but also of moral weight.

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ST IGNATIUS OF LOYOLA'S "VISION AT LA STORTA" AND THE FOUNDATION OF THE SOCIETY OF JESUS

Alison C. Fleming*

The foundation and naming of the Society of Jesus in 1540 is explicitly linked to the "Vision at La Storta", a central event in the life of the Society's founder, St Ignatius of Loyola. This life-changing vision is reconstructed visually by the Jesuits between the 1590s and the 1690s, culminating in the sculptural representation on the Altar of St Ignatius in the Church of Il Gesù. In a century of prints and altarpieces, sculptures and frescoes, these images portray the miraculous event in diverse fashions and for various purposes, all of which allow the viewer to comprehend – and even experience – the event that serves as an emblem of the foundation and naming of the Jesuit order. This engaged participation builds on established Jesuit ideals, practices and works of art, including the envisioning essential to the Spiritual Exercises, and the participatory commentaries on the Gospels by Jerome Nadal. This essay examines the relationship between the vision, the denomination of the Society of Jesus, and the artistic representations that allow the viewer to appreciate them fully by experiencing them in the most prominent Jesuit churches.

In the fall of 1537, Ignatius of Loyola approached the city of Rome. He had started out from Paris three years earlier, with his companions, having taken a collective vow to travel to the Holy Land. When this proved impossible they determined to go to Rome and put themselves

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in the hands of the Pope. Now, just miles outside the city where he would spend the rest of his life, Ignatius paused to pray [Fig. 1].[1] The miraculous event that followed was described in rather meager detail by Ignatius himself years later, in his *Spiritual Diary*, and in his dictated autobiography.[2] His first biographer, Pedro Ribadeneira, however, recorded a fuller account:

> The B. Father took his way towards Rome, on foot, with F. Faber, and F. Laínez in his company [...] one day drawing nigh to the city of Rome, leaving the two Fathers in the field, he went into a deserted and solitary church some mile from the city to pray. There amidst the greatest fervor of his prayers, he felt his heart changed, and God the Father appeared to him, together with his most Blessed Son, who carried the Cross upon his shoulders and with the eyes of his soul, illustrated with that resplendent light, he saw that the Eternal Father, turning to his only begotten Son, commended Ignatius, and those in his company unto him, with exceeding great love, putting them into his hands. And our most benign Jesus having received them under his patronage and protection, as he stood in that manner, with his Cross, turned to Ignatius and with a loving and mild countenance said unto him: 'Ego vobis Romae propitious ero' ('I will be favorable to you at Rome'). With this divine revelation, our Father remained very much comforted, and strengthened, and he related it afterwards to those in his company, to animate them the more, and to prepare them for the troubles which they were to endure. And, with this vision, together with many other excellent illustrations which he had, the most sacred name of JESUS, was so imprinted in his soul, with an earnest desire to take our Savior for his Captain, carrying his Cross after him, that was the cause, that at his, and the other first Fathers humble request, the Apostolic See, at the Confirmation of our religion, called it and named it THE SOCIETY OF JESUS.[3]

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[1] The chapel where Ignatius prayed, located on the Via Cassia, was already dilapidated at this time. It was renovated by the Jesuits for the Jubilee of 1700, but further damaged and subsequently rebuilt in modern times. For a view of the chapel at present see Fig. 1.

[2] For the account of Ignatius in his Spiritual Diary, written 23 February 1544 (translated into English), see Nicolas A. de, *Powers of Imagining, Ignatius de Loyola: A Philosophical Hermeneutic of Imagining Through the Collected Works of Ignatius de Loyola with a translation of these works* (Albany: 1986) 189–238. For the description in the autobiography dictated to Luis Goncalves da Camara in 1553–1555, see *A Pilgrim's Journey: The Autobiography of Ignatius of Loyola*, ed. J. Tylenda (San Francisco: 2001) 112–113. In addition to the brief accounts of the event by Ignatius himself, and that of Ribadeneira, Laínez, as a witness, wrote an account, and descriptions were compiled by Jerome Nadal, Peter Canisius, and Juan Alfonso de Polanco.

[3] Pedro Ribadeneira, *Vita Ignatii Loyolae*, chapter 9. This English translation comes from Ribadeneira Pedro de, *The Life of B. Father Ignatius of Loyola, 1616* (York: 1976) 94–98. The Latin and Spanish versions have been published in *Monumenta Historica*

Fig. 1. Chapel at La Storta, rebuilt twentieth century, Rome (photo: author).

The episode at La Storta is significant not only because it is a miracle, but also because of how it connects, directly and emphatically, to the establishment and naming of the Society of Jesus. The relationship between Ignatius's "Vision at La Storta" and the foundation of the Jesuit order in 1540 – and how and why this association is visually manifest in works of art commissioned by the Jesuits between ca 1590 and 1700 – will be examined in this essay.

The Foundation of the Society of Jesus

The prominent Jesuit scholar John W. O'Malley tells us that 'The story of the first Jesuits does not begin, properly speaking, until the Society of Jesus officially came into existence with the papal bull of 27 September 1540'.[4] But, he rightly notes that a full understanding of this story begins much earlier.[5] The founding members of the Jesuits, including Ignatius, Francis Xavier, Pierre Favre (also called Peter Faber), Diego Laínez, Alfonso Salmerón, Nicolás de Bobadilla, and Simão Rodrigues, met while students in Paris in the 1530s. Their common interests bound them together, and on the Feast of the Assumption, 15 August 1534, they made a vow to become priests, embrace celibacy and poverty, make a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, and to tender their ministerial services to the Pope. In hindsight, we view these preparations as an important step en route to establishing a new religious order; yet all later denied this intention. Juan Alfonso de Polanco states this unequivocally.[6] The companions, or 'friends in the Lord,' as they were

Societatis Iesu 93 (Rome: 1965). One further point should be mentioned: while Ribadeneira states the words spoken to Ignatius by Christ as 'Ego vobis Romae propitious ero', Peter Canisius later observed that the phrase should instead be given as 'Io sarò con voi' ('I will be with you'). See Rahner H., *The Vision of St Ignatius in the Chapel of La Storta* (Rome: 1975) 12. The first phrase is commonly associated with the event, however, the latter phrase is in fact inscribed on the altar wall inside the present chapel.

[4] O'Malley J., *The First Jesuits* (Cambridge: 1993) 23.

[5] O'Malley examines the early life of Ignatius in chapter 1 of *The First Jesuits*. Readers unfamiliar with the events of his young adulthood that led to his convalescence, religious conversion, pilgrimage to Jerusalem and study in Paris may be referred to O'Malley's overview.

[6] *Fontes Narrativi de S. Ignatio de Loyola et de Societatis Iesu initiis,* ed. C. de Dalmases (Rome: 1943–1965) vol. I, 204. An English translation of Polanco's statement, 'They had no plan to form a congregation, nor any other form of religious order, but they wanted to dedicate themselves to the service of God and that of the Apostolic

known, met up in Venice in 1537 to depart for the Holy Land. Their voyage was blessed by the Pope, but the political situation at the time did not allow for them to travel to advance their vow. They continued the charitable work they had begun in Italy, and were ordained priests. Then, in the fall of 1537 Ignatius, Laínez, and Favre set out for Rome.[7] They were almost at their destination when Ignatius miraculously encountered Christ and God the Father in the small, run-down chapel at La Storta.

The miraculous vision that Ignatius experienced in that chapel had a dramatic and specific impact of his life, and the lives of his companions. The historian Michael Foss has described the assured attitude of the post-La Storta Ignatius in this way: 'Through the trials of 1539 and 1540 Ignatius acted as if confident of the final result […] as if opposition would collapse before him, and it always did'.[8]

Would Ignatius have pursued and persevered in the same manner had he not been promised favor in Rome by Christ himself? It is difficult to imagine, knowing what the historical record tells us about the saint, that he would have been deterred. In speaking of the episode, Foss states that 'as usual when he (Ignatius) had made an interior decision, he found it confirmed by vision'.[9] Ignatius himself, referring to the miracle over six years later, tells us, 'I recalled the day when the Father placed me with His Son […] (I only had) this in mind: to carry deeply the name of Jesus […] seemingly confirmed for the future'.[10]

The notion that Ignatius took from this experience a renewed sense of confidence and optimism regarding his plans, and in fact viewed the episode as *confirmation* that he would succeed, is one way in which we are able to connect the "Vision at La Storta" and the subsequent foundation of the order. The particular naming of his group the 'Society of Jesus' is another thread which weaves together these events.

See, from the moment they discovered that they could not go to Jerusalem' appears in Ravier A., *Ignatius of Loyola and the Founding of the Society of Jesus* (San Francisco: 1987) 95. See also O'Malley, *The First Jesuits* 32 for more discussion on this matter.

[7] We do not know the exact date of the miracle. Accounts of their journey to Rome vary with regard to whether the event occurred in October or November. Today the anniversary of the event is celebrated on the Feast of the Presentation in the Temple (21 November).

[8] Foss M., *The Founding of the Jesuits, 1540* (London: 1969) 122.

[9] Foss, *The Founding of the Jesuits* 118.

[10] Entry in the *Spiritual Diary* of Ignatius from 23 February 1544. For the English translation see Nicolas, *Powers of Imagining* 201–202.

The papal bull *Regimini militantis ecclesiae* (issued by Paul III in September 1540) names the new order in latin, Societas Iesu, which may be easily translated into english as the Society of Jesus. The italian equivalent is Compagnia di Gesù, which many people have mistakenly connected with a military implication, although the term 'compagnia' has traditionally been used in Italy for religious confraternities or associations. But, the name was not debated or determined for this official occasion; the name was the one that they had already been using. Ignatius and his companions decided, before they parted ways in Vicenza (at the moment when Ignatius, Favre and Lainez left for Rome) that 'to anyone asking them who they were they would reply that they were of the "Company of Jesus" since they had no other superior but him.'[11] Juan de Polanco, Ignatius's secretary, clearly writes:

> As far as the name of the Society is concerned, the following is certain: Ignatius and his first companions had already given themselves the name 'Society of Jesus' before they came to Rome. For as they discussed among themselves how they should answer the question as to the form they should give their new community, they began to pray and consider what name would fit them best. They considered that they really had no other head but Jesus Christ, whom alone they longed to serve. And so it seemed most appropriate to give themselves his name […] Thus their community must be called the 'Society of Jesus'.[12]

The *Formula of the Institute*, a document first written in Rome in 1539 (revised in 1550), and the basis for the foundation bull issued the following year, begins with these lines:

> Whoever desires to serve as a soldier of God beneath the banner of the cross in our Society, which we desire to be designated by the name of Jesus, and to serve the Lord alone […].[13]

Ignatius himself, in the same passage from his *Spiritual Diary* noted previously, notes that, 'While preparing the altar, the thought of Jesus came to me. I felt a movement to follow Him […] since He was the

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[11] O'Malley, *The First Jesuits* 33–34. The original source is *Fontes Narrativi* I 204.

[12] Polanco J.A., *Vita Ignatii Loiolae et rerum Societatis Jesu historica [Chronicon]* I (Madrid: 1894–1898) 72. I have used the English translation in Rahner, *The Vision of St Ignatius* 41.

[13] Aladama A. de, *The Formula of the Institute: Notes for a Commentary* (Rome – St Louis: 1990) 3–4.

head of the Society'.[14] A modern commentary on the *Consititutions* of the Society of Jesus examines the issue of its name, clarifying that the first Jesuits had starting calling themselves by this term in Vicenza in 1537, with Ignatius receiving 'divine confirmation of that name in the celebrated vision at La Storta.'[15] Candido de Dalmases, in his biography of Ignatius, eloquently states that:

> The mystical phenomenon experienced by Ignatius had […] a clear repercussion upon the foundation of the Society of Jesus […] Ignatius perceived himself as one intimately united with Christ; and he also desired that the society which was soon to be founded should be totally dedicated to Him and bear His name. It was a name which was a whole program: to be companions of Jesus.[16]

Thus, we may see that for Ignatius, the vision of Christ at La Storta confirmed that serving Jesus – and telling all who cared to ask that he was of the 'Company of Jesus' – had set him on the correct path. This affirmation led directly to Rome, to the Pope, and to the foundation of the Society of Jesus (with the confidence noted earlier).

Early Images of the "Vision at La Storta"

The earliest images commissioned by the Jesuits were largely martyrdom cycles that decorated their churches, in typical Counter-Reformation style.[17] It is not until the very end of the sixteenth century, approaching the beatification of Ignatius, that the events of his life are depicted visually. Ribadeneira's narrative, first published in 1572 and reprinted in a variety of languages over the following century, provides the details for visual depictions of the "Vision at La Storta", which flourish in the period ca 1600. The earliest painted cycle may be the set of fifteen oil

[14] Entry in the *Spiritual Diary* of Ignatius from 23 February 1544. The English translation comes from Nicolas, *Powers of Imagining* 201.

[15] Aladama A. de, *The Constitutions of the Society of Jesus: An Introductory Commentary on the Constitutions* (Rome – St Louis: 1989) 24–25.

[16] Dalmases C. de, *Ignatius of Loyola, Founder of the Jesuits: His Life and Work* (St Louis: 1985) 153.

[17] For more on the earliest Jesuit art, see Bailey G.A., *Between Renaissance and Baroque: Jesuit Art in Rome, 1565–1610* (Toronto: 2003); Herz A., "Imitators of Christ: The Martyr-cycles of Late Sixteenth Century Rome Seen in Context", *Storia dell'Arte* 62 (1988) 53–70, and Noreen K., "Ecclesiae militantis triumphi: Jesuit Iconography and the Counter-Reformation", *Sixteenth Century Journal* 29 (1998) 689–715.

paintings produced by Juan de Mesa for the Jesuit Novitiate in Madrid in 1604. This cycle was created under the authority of Ribadeneira, and closely follows his account.[18] The "Vision at La Storta" scene appears first in prints in the 1590s. These illustrations were initially incorporated into the background of profile portraits of Father Ignatius.[19] The inclusion of the event as a vision – the one single vision connected to Ignatius – that the viewer is privileged to see through the window, reveals the experience as the central event in his life. It will also come to be seen as the fundamental, representative example of the Society of Jesus. Soon, attention to the biography of Ignatius increases, and the "Vision at La Storta" will be frequently depicted as a component of Ignatian life cycles. By 1600 numerous prints appear, in the format of small medallions depicting events of the life of Ignatius, surrounding his portrait.[20] These types are rapidly expanded into extensive visual biographies that appear as efforts to beatify Ignatius increase in the years leading up to 1609, and even more emphatically in the years approaching his canonization in 1622. The most celebrated example dating to that time is the *Vita Beati P. Ignatii Loiolae* (published in Rome, 1609), a pictorial biography engraved by Jean-Baptiste Barbe, possibly based on drawings by Peter Paul Rubens [Fig. 2].[21] A second book, *S. Ignatii Loyolae Soc: Iesv fvndatoris: qvaedã miracvla*, also published in Rome in the early seventeenth century includes engravings by Valérien Regnard [Fig. 3]. The "Vision at la Storta" is consistently included as a key event in these (and similar) pictorial biographies of Ignatius.

The "Vision at La Storta" scene engraved by Barbe shows Ignatius, kneeling at prayer, inside the chapel, his staff and pilgrim's hat on the ground. His two companions are visible through the open, arched doorway on the left; the ruined state of the structure is obvious. Ignatius looks upward, at the glorious sight of Christ bearing the Cross

[18] The entire cycle does not survive, but the extant paintings are today in Manresa. See Pfeiffer H., "The Iconography of the Society of Jesus", in O'Malley J. – Bailey G.A. (eds.), *The Jesuits and the Arts, 1540–1773* (Philadelphia: 2005) 217.

[19] Examples of these printed portraits are illustrated in König-Nordhoff U., *Ignatius von Loyola: Studien zur Entwicklung einer neuen Heiligen-Ikonographie im Rahmen einer Kanonisationskampagne um 1600* (Berlin: 1982) figures 130, 131, 135, 136, 138, and 139.

[20] Again, see König-Nordhoff, *Ignatius von Loyola* figures 83, 269, 270, 283, 284, 289.

[21] For more on the Barbe engravings and connection to drawings prepared by Rubens see Held J., "Rubens and the *Vita Beati P. Ignatii Loiolae* of 1609", in Martin J.R. (ed.), *Rubens Before 1620* (Princeton: 1972) 93–134.

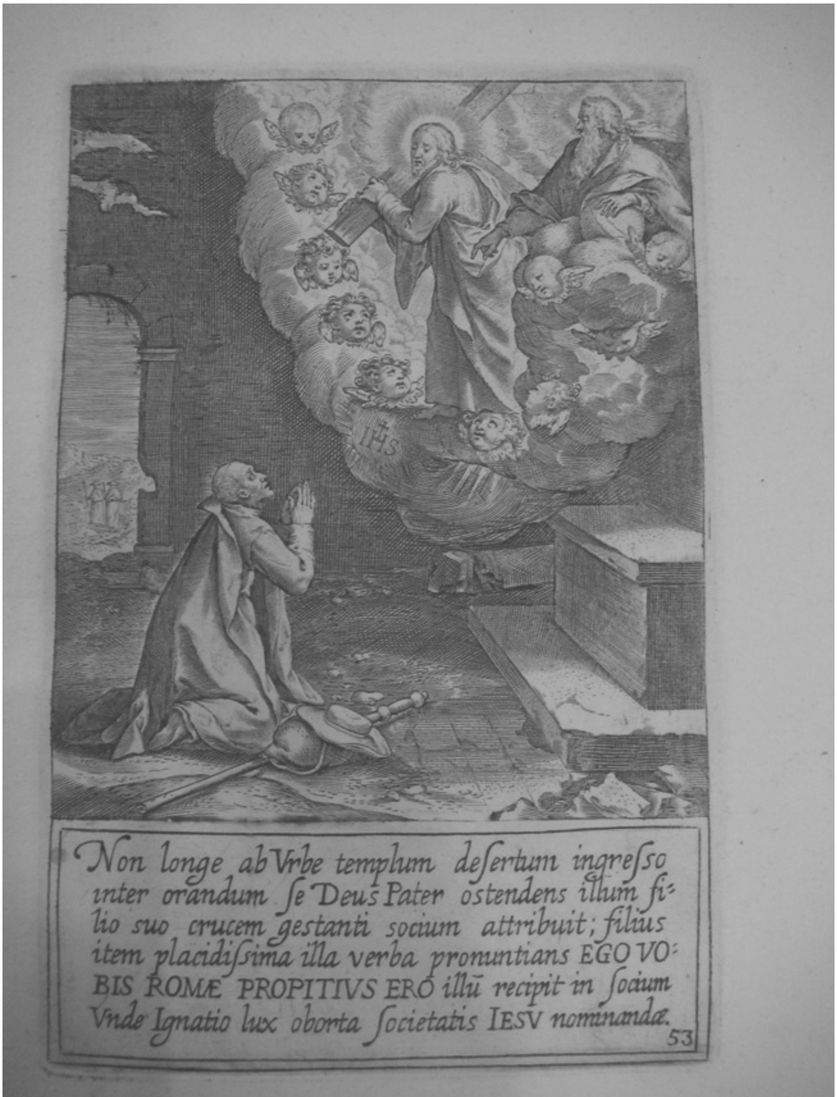

Fig. 2. Jean-Baptiste Barbe, "Vision of St Ignatius at La Storta", from *Vita Beati P. Ignatii Loiolae, Societatis Iesu fundatoris* (Rome: 1609) (photo: author; published with permission of John J. Burns Library, Boston College).

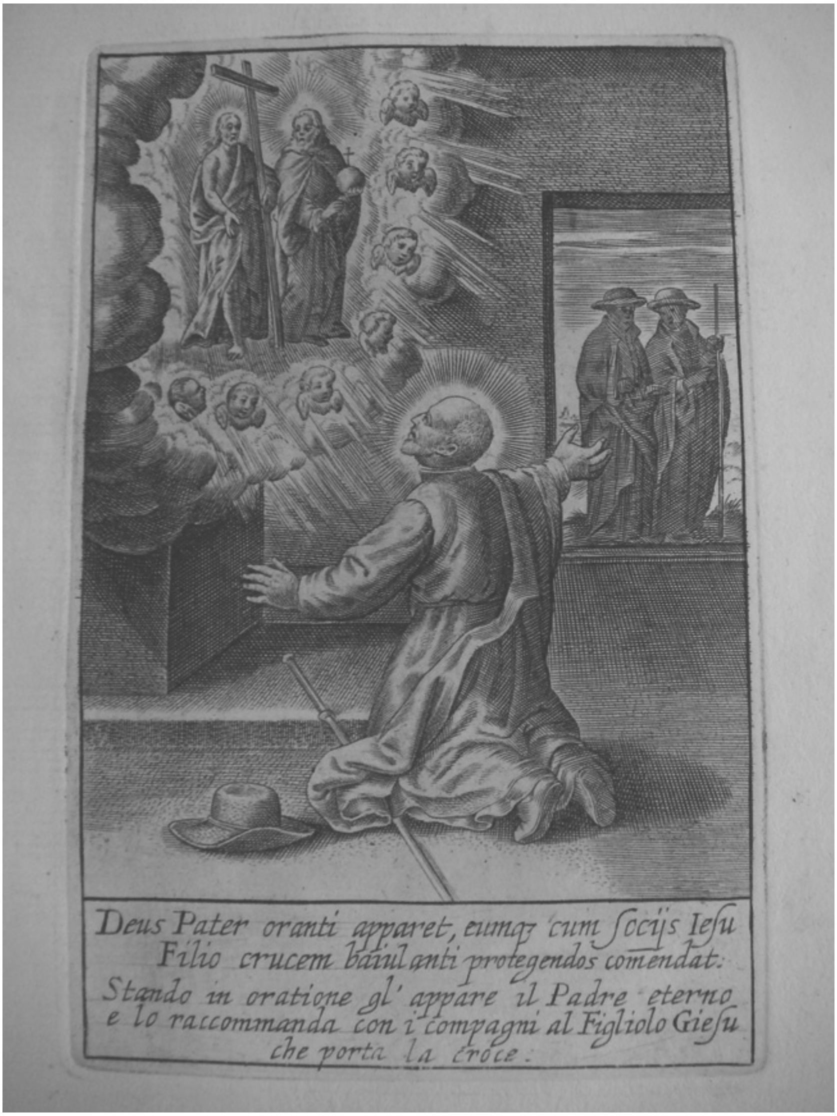

Fig. 3. Valérien Regnard, "Vision of St. Ignatius at La Storta", from *S. Ignatii Loyolae Societatis Iesu fundatoris: quaedam miracula*, Rome, ca 1600–1630 (photo: author; published with permission of John J. Burns Library, Boston College).

and God the Father, floating above the altar on a cloud of angels. The accompanying inscription describes the episode and includes the phrase 'Ego Vobis Romae Propitius Ero'. The scene as engraved by Regnard is similar: Ignatius kneels inside the chapel, gazing at the figures of Christ and God the Father, who appear in a radiant ring of angels. But, Regnard's chapel is less ruined and less detailed, and the companions appear much larger and closer. The inscription differs, and does not include the important phrase, but both engravings serve a similar purpose. They were produced in order to explain the life of Ignatius, a candidate for beatification, to the public. Their function – and hence their appearance – differs considerably from the other, later, images of the scene that will be considered in this essay.

After the canonization of St Ignatius – and throughout the seventeenth century – the "Vision at La Storta" appears in altarpieces, large-scale frescoes and more prints. The composition, and other elements of the narrative, and the text of accompanying inscriptions differ widely, depending on the function of these images. The representations reproduced in biographies of the saint in preparation for his beatification and canonization may be considered promotional, as well as didactic and descriptive, while others are variously documentary, meditative, directive, or commemorative.[22] But, it is at the end of the century, in the works of the Jesuit artist, Fra Andrea Pozzo, that we see the "Vision at La Storta" incorporated into larger artistic projects, emphasizing the significance of the miraculous vision to the Society of Jesus in general, and its foundation in particular.

The Ceiling Fresco in Sant'Ignazio

The magnificent, illusionistic ceiling fresco in the Church of Sant'Ignazio in Rome, painted by Pozzo between 1688 and 1694, is traditionally interpreted as a depiction of the *Allegory of the Jesuit Missions* [Fig. 4].[23] While there are multiple ways of viewing the fresco,

[22] For a more detailed examination of the extraordinary and purposeful diversity in the "Vision at La Storta" (printed) images produced between 1590 and 1750 see Fleming A, "The 'Roles' of Illustrations of the Life of St Ignatius of Loyola", in Ardissino E. – Selmi E. (eds.), *Il Libro Sacro Figurato in Italia tra Cinque e Seicento* (Rome, forthcoming).

[23] For more on Pozzo's fresco see Kerber B., *Andrea Pozzo* (Berlin: 1971); de Feo V. – Martinelli V., *Andrea Pozzo* (Milan: 1996); and Battisti A. (ed.), *Andrea Pozzo* (Milan: 1996).

Fig. 4. Andrea Pozzo, *Allegory of the Jesuit Missions*, 1688–1694, fresco. Rome, Church of S. Ignazio (photo: author).

they are not mutually exclusive. The conventional reading, stemming from Pozzo's own description, examines the fundamental missionary work carried out by the Jesuits across the four corners of the globe, which are explicitly labeled and detailed.[24] A more recent analysis, taking into account the fresco's emphasis on light and fire, situates the focus on Ignatius as a miraculous healer.[25] I suggest that the placement of Ignatius near the center of the fresco, his arms outstretched and eyes fixed on the figures of Christ, bearing the cross, and God the Father at the center of the composition repeats the arrangement of their interaction at La Storta [Fig. 5]. Yet, this miraculous event is situated within other figures and concepts significant to the Jesuits. This unusual conglomeration allows the important vision to be physically intertwined with Jesuit ideals, and as this occurs within a visually engaging *trompe l'oeil* painting, the spectator is able to place himself within that relationship. The powers of imagining that are inherent in Ignatius's *Spiritual Exercises* are activated here. We may classify this scene as experiential.

The notion that Jesuit art should engage and involve the spectator dates back to Ignatius himself. His formulation of the *Spiritual Exercises* established the importance of meditation on an image formed in the mind. The Jesuits quickly became accustomed to developing a visual of a physical place, populated by figures and objects that compose the narrative. The idea of employing all of the senses to 'place oneself' in the scene in order to best meditate, contemplate and pray became an essential component of Jesuit practice. Therefore, it is easily understood that the first work of art commissioned by Ignatius himself – the *Adnotationes et Meditationes in Evangelia* written by Jerome Nadal with images created by Bernardino Passeri and engraved by the Wierix workshop (eventually published in Antwerp in 1595) – uses a combination of text and image to lead the viewer through images of Christ's infancy, Passion, and Resurrection.[26] Recently, scholars, notably Walter Melion, Pierre-Antoine Fabre and Ralph Dekoninck, have focused attention on the interactive qualities of Jesuit art.[27] While these studies

[24] Pozzo A., *Perspectiva pictorum et architectorum* (Rome: 1717) vol. I.

[25] Levy E., *Propaganda and the Jesuit Baroque* (Berkeley: 2004) 150–155.

[26] Nadal J., *Annotations and Meditations on the Gospels*, trsl. F. Homann, 3 vols. (Philadelphia: 2003–2007).

[27] See for example Melion W., *The Meditative Art: Studies in the Northern Devotional Print, 1550–1625* (Philadelphia: 2009), and Melion's introductory essays to each volume of Nadal, *Annotations and Meditations*; Dekoninck R., "Imagines

Fig. 5. Andrea Pozzo, *Allegory of the Jesuit Missions* (detail).

predominantly consider prints (by Nadal among others) they firmly establish the experiential aspects of meditation and engagement with works of art. The viewer meditating upon a print engages with the image in a personal and intimate fashion. Standing in a church focusing upon a ceiling fresco or sculptural group is both a more physical and a more public experience. Instead of the image being supported by accompanying text, it is supplemented by the architecture of the building, other works of art, the sounds of music and/or the mass, even physical interaction with other people. This 'communal contemplation' creates a different type of experiential viewing. The two works conceived by Pozzo align the viewer and the painted/sculpted figures so that they interact in the space of the church (in a three-dimensional manner via sculptures in the round or illusionistic frescoes), allowing the spectator to truly 'place himself' completely into the scene, so that he sees what Ignatius saw in this spectacular vision.[28] This, in turn, reinforces the circumstances of the foundation of the order, and the Jesuit ideal to follow Christ.

The Altar of St Ignatius in the Gesù

Fra Andrea Pozzo's project for the founding saint's tomb in the principal Jesuit church in Rome, Il Gesù, even more strongly incorporates the "Vision at La Storta" into a space dedicated to Jesuit ideals [Fig. 6]. The church holds many works of art illustrating the life of Ignatius. On the surface, many simply appear to be narratives or iconic representations that visually document the import of the saint in this environment. However, recent scholarship has made it clear that this decoration goes far beyond associating the nave chapel paintings with

peregrinantes: The International Genesis and Fate of Two Biblical Picture Books (Barrefelt and Nadal) Conceived in Antwerp at the End of the Sixteenth Century", in Gelderblom A. – de Jong J. – van Vaeck M. (eds.), *The Low Countries as a Crossroads of Religious Beliefs* (Leiden: 2004) and Dekoninck R., *Ad imaginem: Statuts, fonctions et usages de l'image dans la littérature spirituelle jésuite du XVII^e^ siècle* (Geneva: 2005); and Fabre P.-A., *Ignace de Loyola: Le lieu de l'image. Le problème de la composition de lieu dans les pratiques spirituelles et artistiques jésuites de la seconde moitié du XVI^e^ siècle* (Paris: 1992).

[28] Regarding representations of the visions of Ignatius, see Fabre P.-A., "Les Visions d'Ignace de Loyola dans la diffusion de l'art jésuite", *Modern Language Notes* 114 (1999) 816–847.

Fig. 6. Andrea Pozzo, Altar of St Ignatius, 1695–1699. Rome, Church of Il Gesù (photo: author).

the meditations of the *Spiritual Exercises*.[29] I contend that many of these works were intended to recreate the life of St Ignatius for later Jesuits who sought to imitate him, as well as to connect the events of his life – especially his "Vision at La Storta" – with the foundation of the Society of Jesus and the Church of Il Gesù. The miraculous vision of Ignatius is inextricably linked to the establishment of both the community and the physical building by the images that interpret and commemorate the Jesuit mission. The way in which the scene above his tomb is represented – again an experiential, not descriptive, documentary or didactic, representation – allows visitors to 'place themselves' into the work, facilitating a better understanding of this essential relationship. This concept reinforces the central ideas of Ignatius's *Spiritual Exercises*.

The Altar of St Ignatius project was initiated in 1694. The dedications of both of the transept chapels were reconfigured in the late seventeenth century, after the 1622 canonizations of the first two Jesuit saints, Ignatius of Loyola and Francis Xavier. The left transept chapel is dedicated to St Ignatius. The chapel dedicated to St Francis Xavier, which contains a relic of his arm, is located opposite, in the right transept chapel. The Jesuit artist Andrea Pozzo, and at least two other architects (namely Giovanni Battista Orrigone and Sebastiano Cipriani), submitted competing proposals in 1696.[30]

The final conception of Pozzo centers on a dynamic, over life size, silver statue of Ignatius executed by Pierre Legros (1697–1699, remodeled by Luigi Acquisti, 1803–1804), who stands with arms outstretched and gazing upwards [Fig. 7]. The saint stands in a lavishly adorned niche, with two angels above him flanking an escutcheon with the 'IHS' monogram, presented as if one angel is actually writing the name of the order. Seated atop the cornice of the niche are God the Father and Christ bearing the Cross. They are appearing to Ignatius – as in the "Vision at La Storta" – and he gazes upon them joyously.

There are two marble relief panels flanking the central sculptural group: on the left is Angelo de Rossi's *Pope Paul III Confirming the Order* (1695–1699) [Fig. 8]; on the right is Bernardino Cametti's

[29] For the connection of the nave chapel frescoes to the Spiritual Exercises, see Hibbard H., "*Ut picturae sermones*: The First Painted Decorations of the Gesù", in Wittkower R. – Jaffe I. (eds.), *Baroque Art: The Jesuit Contribution* (New York: 1972). For more recent discussions of the interior decoration of the Gesù see Bailey, *Between Renaissance and Baroque*, and Levy, *Propaganda and the Jesuit Baroque*.

[30] Levy, *Propaganda and the Jesuit Baroque* 84–106 thoroughly describes the planning stage.

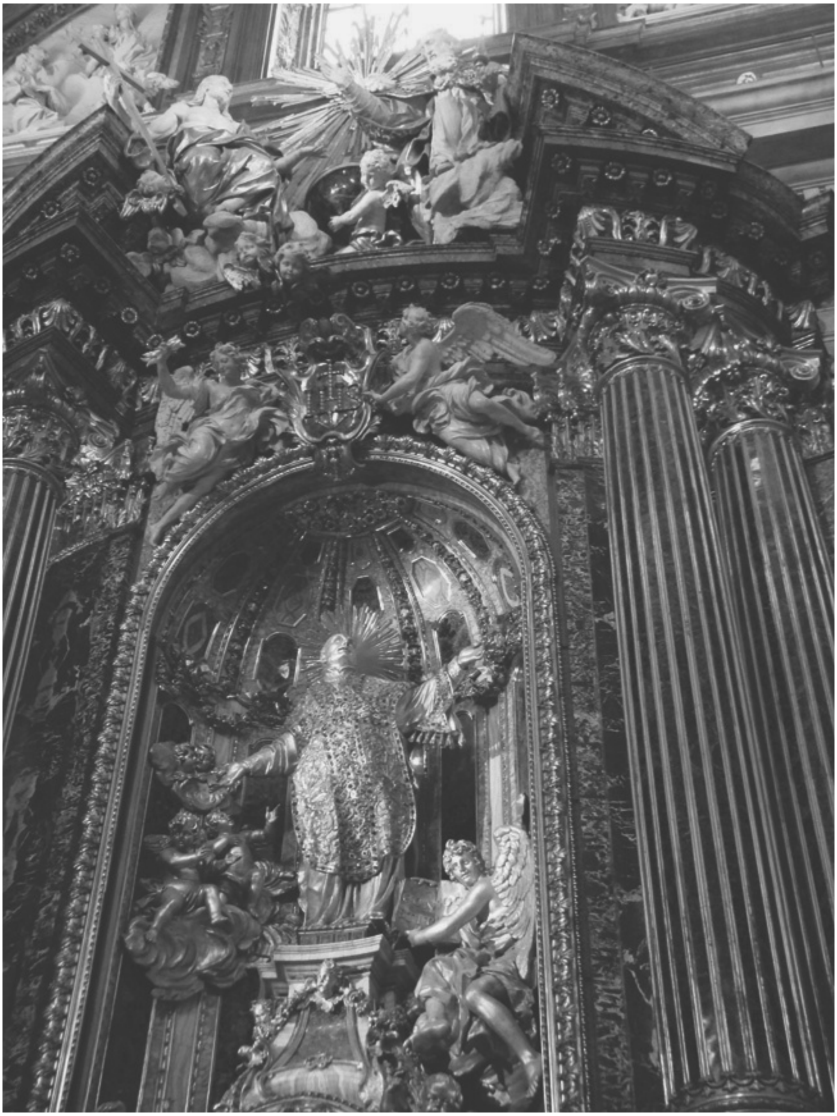

Fig. 7. Pierre Legros, *St. Ignatius*, 1697–1699; Pierre Stephan Monnot: *Angel Composing the Name of the Society*, 1696–1697; Lorenzo Ottone and Bernardo Ludovisi: *Trinity*, 1726; Altar of St Ignatius, Church of Il Gesù, Rome (photo: author).

Fig. 8. Angelo De Rossi, *Pope Paul III Confirms the Society of Jesus in 1540*, 1695–1699. Altar of St Ignatius, Church of Il Gesù, Rome (photo: author).

Canonization of St Ignatius (1695–1698). Levy speaks of these panels as representing 'two instaurational moments for the providential goal of the Society: its founding and Ignatius's canonization'.[31] The design earlier proposed by Cipriani had included two relief panels, illustrating the "Vision at La Storta" and "The Confirmation of the Rule" flanking a concave relief of St Ignatius with the Trinity. Cipriani's plan rendered the historical events connected to the foundation of the Society of Jesus in an explicit fashion, but would not have allowed them to engage the visitor in the interactive manner that Pozzo's design ultimately does. Instead, Pozzo's concept, the placement of the figures eternally reenacting the visionary experience, facilitates the participation of future spectators. The *Confirmation* reinforces the relationship between the historical event and the vision that preceded it. The *Canonization* relief was designed to hold a real candle, so that the scene could be ritually reenacted.[32] These seemingly small elements further my suggestion that the sculptures in the transept chapel containing Ignatius's tomb work together to assist the spectator in placing himself into the miraculous life of the saint. The representation here, as in the Sant'Ignazio ceiling fresco, is experiential. Spectators – from the eighteenth century forward – visiting the tomb chapel could view the scene as the companions of Ignatius originally did at La Storta. The unusual composition assists their ability to 'place themselves' in that moment. The circumstances of the foundation become not a distant historical fact, but an event into which pilgrims can encounter and participate in the vision that led to the establishment and naming of the Society of Jesus.

The Naming of Christ

The meaning of the "Vision at La Storta" scene – and the reminder of its significant connection to the establishment and naming of the Society – is enhanced by the placement of the Jesuit monogram 'IHS' on the escutcheon between Ignatius and the Trinity, accompanied by

[31] Levy, *Propaganda and the Jesuit Baroque* 161.

[32] This is discussed by Levy, who also notes that the inscription on the relief does not include a date, further supporting the notion that the scene could be re-experienced. See Levy, *Propaganda and the Jesuit Baroque* 163–164. An excellent detail of the candle is in her figure 59.

two angels who have just 'written' the name. Further reference to the naming theme is seen on the ceiling of the church's nave, in Giovanni Battista Gaulli's fresco of the *Adoration of the Name of Jesus* (1672–1675), which again illuminates and glorifies the 'IHS' monogram.[33] While this Jesuit monogram is displayed in most buildings connected to the order, it is showcased here (not only inside the church but even more prominently on the façade) on the site where a chapel dedicated to the Holy Name was established by St Bernardino of Siena in the fifteenth century.[34] St Bernardino first developed the 'IHS' monogram adapted by St Ignatius a century later, just after the order was established and named.[35]

The biblical celebration in which the infant Christ was named is the Circumcision, and the titular feast remains of central importance to the Jesuit order. A clear indication of this is the prominence of the 'IHS' monogram in the engraving of the Circumcision published in the *Adnotationes et Meditationes in Evangelia* by Jerome Nadal in 1595.[36] Paintings of this subject also adorn the high altars in many Jesuit churches.[37] This was true at the Gesù, where Girolamo Muziano's altarpiece of the *Circumcision* (1587–1598) was originally placed at the high altar.[38] The altarpiece was replaced in 1843.[39] Taken as a whole, the pilgrim visiting the Gesù is continuously reminded of the significance of the name of Christ and the name of the order, and this reminder would have been significantly stronger in the seventeenth

[33] See Enggass R., *The Painting of Baciccio* (University Park: 1974) for more on Baciccio's paintings in Il Gesù.

[34] Herz, "Imitators of Christ" 66. For more on St Bernardino, his monogram, and preaching in Rome, see Mormando F., *The Preacher's Dream: S. Bernardino of Siena and the Social Underworld of Early Renaissance Italy* (Chicago: 1999).

[35] Herz, "Imitators of Christ" 66–67, discusses also the name taken by Ignatius as connected to the Holy Name of Jesus and the monogram. See also Bailey, *Between Renaissance and Baroque* 196–197.

[36] Nadal, *Annotations and Meditations, vol 1: The Infancy Narratives*.

[37] Examples include Cornelis Schut's *Circumcision* in the Church of St Charles Borromeo in Antwerp, and a painting of the same subject by Peter Paul Rubens in Sant'Ambrogio in Genoa.

[38] Evonne Levy has published two images that provide an idea of what Muziano's altarpiece looked like in situ at the high altar: an engraving by Valerian Regnard, and a detail from the background of an anonymous painting depicting Cardinals Odoardo and Alessandro Farnese in the Gesù. See Levy E., "The Institutional Memory of the Roman Gesù. Plans for the Renovation of the 1670s by Carlo Fontana, Pietro da Cortona and Luca Berettini", *Römisches Jahrbuch der Biblioteca Hertziana* 33 (1999–2000) 376–377.

[39] Herz, "Imitators of Christ" 66.

century. The original plan for the fresco in the semi-dome was to have represented *Joshua stopping the sun*.[40] As Joshua is the Old Testament name for Jesus, the repeated emphasis on his name would have been undeniable. The episode that connects these names, that is, how the name of Jesus Christ came to be the name of the order, is centered in the miracle that occurred in the chapel at La Storta. Thus, the re-enactment of this episode is created in gleaming silver and marble sculptures, in the premier church of the Society of Jesus (a church specifically named Il Gesù), to be experienced by future pilgrims.

Other Depictions of St Ignatius

While the figure of St Ignatius (paired with the Trinity) in both of Pozzo's projects – the Sant'Ignazio ceiling fresco and the Altar of St Ignatius in Il Gesù – is not so specific that it must be exclusively interpreted as a variation on the "Vision at La Storta" episode, Ignatius is in fact presented differently than typical iconic representations. Traditional portraits of St Ignatius, such as another image painted by Pozzo at the end of the corridor of the Casa Professa at Il Gesu (1682–1686), generally show him holding a book inscribed with the motto 'Ad Maiorum Dei Gloriam.' The two projects of Pozzo examined in this essay portray the founder in a rather different manner, without the conventional attributes, and in a fashion comparable to his rendering in traditional "Vision at La Storta" scenes.

Conclusion

This essay has elucidated the connection between the representation of the "Vision at La Storta" and the foundation and naming of the Society of Jesus, as seen through visual representations of the event produced between the 1590s and the 1690s, and culminating in the sculptural representation on the Altar of St Ignatius. In the century leading up to the tomb project, the Jesuits repeatedly depict Ignatius's vision in prints and paintings. These images portray the miraculous

[40] Levy, "The Institutional Memory" 406. The semi-dome was later painted by Baciccio; the subject is *The Adoration of the Lamb*.

event in various ways, for a plethora of functions. While some incorporate the scene into the larger context of Ignatius's life, others single out this event, and employ it as an emblem of the order. I contend that the sculpture group depicting the "Vision at La Storta" on the Altar of St Ignatius combines some of these purposes, in that it allows the spectators to physically interact with and participate in a ritual repetition of the sacred event that solidified the foundation and naming of the Jesuit order. This engaged participation – reminding them of the origins of the order and the church, and central to the concept of the Spiritual Exercises – is stressed over and over in the imagery produced by the Jesuits over the course of the century leading up to the execution of the tomb project. While I am not the first scholar to suggest that the silver statue of St Ignatius, placed above his tomb, re-envisions the "Vision at La Storta" by incorporating Christ bearing the Cross and God the Father in the framework above the figure of the saint, previous studies have not examined the project with the focus on how the Jesuits employed this specific imagery throughout the period 1537–1700.[41] Nor have previous writers focused on how the event unambiguously ties into the establishment and naming of the Society of Jesus, or why this is significant. Some Jesuits and Jesuit historians have sought to increase the visibility of the "Vision at La Storta" with regard to its role as a fundamental component of the Jesuit foundation.[42] This study aims to promote a better understanding of the foundation of the Society of Jesus by investigating the significant connection to this vision. The ruined chapel in the hamlet of La Storta, just outside the city of Rome, was where Ignatius witnessed the vision of Jesus Christ, and was assured of his favor in Rome. As a result, the companions who arrived in Rome and petitioned the Pope to establish a new religious order (in 1540) called themselves the Society of Jesus, and embarked on a specific devotion to his name, and imitation of his acts. The Church of Il Gesù, and the tomb of the Jesuit founder in the left transept, physically manifests and ritually reenacts the connection between the "Vision at La Storta" and the ideals of the Jesuit order.

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[41] This idea is also considered by Levy, *Propoaganda and the Jesuit Baroque* 171–172.

[42] See, for example, Ravier, *Ignatius of Loyola and the Founding of the Society of Jesus*, and Kolvenbach P.-H., *The Road from La Storta* (St Louis: 2000) 1–4. Kolvenbach, in a homily on the anniversary of the vision (in 1987) stated that 'The Vision at La Storta has not been given to us so that we might stop to gaze at it. No, it is the light in which the Jesuit regards the whole world'.

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III. CONSECRATION CEREMONIES AFTER TRENT

CONSECRATION AND VIOLATION: PRESERVING THE SACRED LANDSCAPE IN THE (ARCH)DIOCESE OF CAMBRAI, C. 1550–1570*

Andrew Spicer

On 11 June 1520, the citizens of Valenciennes lit bonfires and celebrated the return of the newly elected Holy Roman Emperor Charles V to the Netherlands. A spark from one these *feus de joye* started a conflagration which saw the abbey church of St Jean, its conventual house and neighbouring buildings reduced to ashes.[1] The Benedictine abbey, which had been founded in the late sixth century, was one of the most important ecclesiastical institutions and principal parish churches within Valenciennes [Fig. 1]. In spite of the scale of the destruction, the materials for the reconstruction of the building were assembled relatively quickly and the first stone of the new church was laid by the abbot's brother Jean Braque, abbot of Vicogne, on 25 February 1521. It was a reflection of the importance of the abbey that six months later Charles V visited the ruined church and heard mass there.[2] Later in 1541, he donated funds for a stained glass window to be erected in a principal location within the choir, which was to include the imperial coat of arms as well as a representation of the emperor.[3] In spite of the on-going wars between France and the Netherlands, which afflicted

* The Latin translations were kindly provided by John Trappes-Lomax, other translations are by the author. The research for this article has been undertaken and supported by the AHRC project "The Early Modern Parish Church and the Religious Landscape" at Oxford Brookes University.

[1] Le Boucq Simon, *Bref Recveil des Antiquitez de Valentienne* (Valenciennes, Jean Vervliet: 1619) 28–29; Le Boucq Simon, *Histoire ecclésiastique de la ville et comté de Valentienne*, ed. A. Dinaux (Valenciennes: 1844) 34; D'Outreman Henri, *Histoire de la ville et comté de Valentiennes*, ed. P. D'Outreman (Douai, Vesue Marc Wyon: 1639) 191.

[2] Le Boucq, *Histoire ecclésiastique de la ville et comté de Valentienne* 34; Le Boucq, *Bref Recveil des Antiquitez de Valentienne* 29.

[3] Archives du Nord, Lille, 40 H 377. On the custom of donating windows, see Spicer A., "'So many painted Jezebels', Stained Glass Windows and the Formation of an Urban Identity in the Dutch Republic", in Pollmann J.S. – Spicer A. (eds.), *Public Opinion and Changing Identities in the Early Modern Netherlands. Essays in Honour of Alastair Duke* (Leiden: 2007) 249–277.

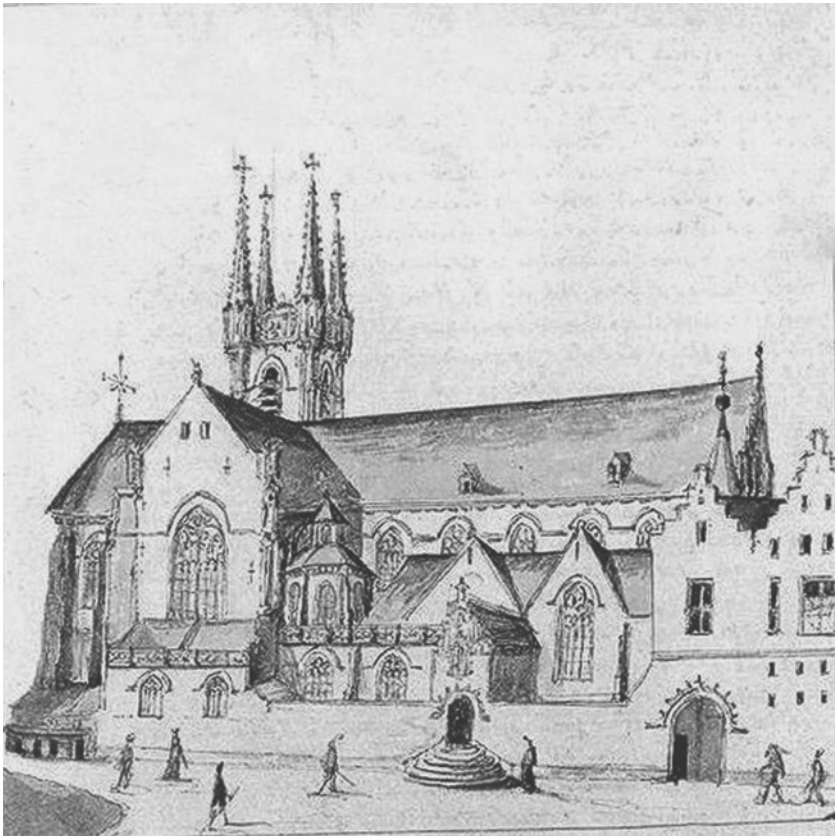

Fig. 1. Abbey church of Saint-Jean, Valenciennes, ca 1650. Bibliothèque de Valenciennes, MS. 673, Simon le Boucq, "Histoire ecclésiastique de la ville et comté de Valentienne" (© Bibliothèque de Valenciennes).

this border region, the building work on the church was completed by 1548.

Episcopal jurisdiction over Valenciennes was divided between Arras and Cambrai, as the river Scheldt formed the boundary between the two dioceses. As the abbey lay within the diocese of Cambrai, it was Martin de Cuyper, the suffragan bishop and Carmelite abbot of Crespin who re-consecrated the church on Palm Sunday, 20 March 1548. The following day he consecrated all the altars in the building. The service was attended by townspeople and local ecclesiastics including the abbots and priors from the neighbouring religious houses of Chateau-l'Abbaye, Crespin, Hasnon, St Amand, Saint-Saulve, Vicogne, as well as the provost, officers and magistrates of Valenciennes. The celebrations for this significant civic and ecclesiastical occasion culminated in a banquet hosted by Guillaume Bracque, abbot of St Jean.[4]

The re-consecration of the abbey marked not only the inauguration of this reconstructed church but the restoration of the building as a sacred space. At the laying of the first stone, holy water had been sprinkled and the devil cast out from the site while the act of consecration saw the further purification of the building through the aspersion of holy water, which was followed by the anointing of the walls with holy chrism. The abbey church was thereby re-established as a sacred place where prayers could be raised to God and the sacraments administered.[5] St Jean's was one of a number of churches, and altars, in the diocese of Cambrai which were consecrated by de Cuyper.[6] However, the importance of consecration for defining sacred places and also the belief that these spaces could be violated or polluted was fundamentally challenged by the theology and writings of Jean Calvin.[7] The government had savagely suppressed an embryonic Reformed church at Valenciennes and Tournai in 1544–1545, but the region became

[4] Le Boucq, *Histoire ecclésiastique de la ville et comté de Valentienne* 34.

[5] *The Rationale Divinorum officiorum of William Durand of Mende. A New Translation of the Prologue and Book One*, ed. and trsl. T.M. Thibodeau (New York: 2007) 14, 62.

[6] See Berlière U., *Les Evêques auxiliaires de Cambrai et de Tournai* (Bruges: 1905) 94–100.

[7] For Reformed attitudes to sacred space, see Grosse C., "Places of Sanctification: The Liturgical Sacrality of Genevan Reformed Churches, 1535–1566" and Spicer A., "'What Kinde of House a Kirk Is': Conventicles, Consecrations and the Concept of Sacred Space in Post-Reformation Scotland", in Coster W. – Spicer A. (eds.), *Sacred Space in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge: 2005) 60–103.

the bastion of the movement during the early 1560s.[8] The tensions between Catholicism and adherents of the Reformed faith, particularly over ecclesiastical buildings and worship came to a head in the Iconoclastic Fury of 1566.[9] In Valenciennes, the abbot of St Jean, Nicaise de la Croix, attempted to preserve the rood screen and many of the expensive fixtures and fittings, which had been provided for divine service since the consecration of the building. His efforts to buy off the iconoclasts were unsuccessful and the church was purged of its religious imagery and converted into a Reformed place of worship.[10]

The iconoclasm and destruction at the abbey of St Jean was repeated in many churches and religious houses across the Netherlands during the late summer and autumn of 1566. It represented a fundamental assault upon the buildings as well as the furnishings and liturgical vessels which had been consecrated for Catholic worship. However, the two decades between the consecration and iconoclastic assault on the abbey of St Jean, coincided with a period when there was a reassertion of the importance of consecration, and the preservation of sacred spaces from violation, within the diocese of Cambrai. This reflected not only a continuity with the medieval traditions but also a re-evaluation of these rites in relation to the process of Catholic reform and the religio-political troubles associated with the beginnings of the Revolt of the Netherlands. This essay will particularly focus on the measures that were taken by provincial and diocesan synods during the mid-sixteenth century relating to consecration and the violation of these consecrated spaces. Such matters were amongst a wide range of issues that were raised at these meetings, but were nonetheless significant. The synodal statutes provided guidance and advice to the parochial clergy and had the force of law; they took immediate effect being adopted and guaranteed by those present at the meeting.[11] Furthermore in the wake of

[8] Duke A.C., "Building Heaven in Hell's Despite: The Early History of the Reformation in the Towns of the Low Countries", in his *Reformation and Revolt in the Low Countries* (London: 1990) 92–93, 97–98.

[9] See Crew P.M., *Calvinist Preaching and Iconoclasm in the Netherlands, 1544–1569* (Cambridge: 1978); Deyon S. – Lottin A., *Les Casseurs de l'été 1566. L'iconoclasme dans le Nord* (Paris: 1981).

[10] Outreman, *Histoire de la ville et comté de Valentiennes* 205–207; Le Boucq, *Histoire ecclésiastique de la ville et comté de Valentienne* 35; Pierre Joseph Le Boucq, *Histoire des troubles advenues à Valenciennes à cause des hérésies, 1562–1579*, ed. A.-P.-L. de Robaulx de Soumoy (Brussels: 1864) 14, 36.

[11] Caspers C., "The Role of the People in the Liturgy according to the Synodal Statutes of the Ancient Dioceses of Cambrai, Liège and Utrecht (c. 1300–c.1500)", in

the Iconoclastic Fury, these synods provided an institutional response to the troubles in the Netherlands and specific issues that arose from the destruction and rebellion.

Discussions concerning the preservation of the sacral landscape, however, took place against a background of jurisdictional and institutional change. Cambrai was an enclave of the Holy Roman Empire ruled by an ecclesiastical sovereign prince; the bishop also had the secular titles of Count of Cambrésis and Duke of Cambrai. The independence of the bishopric was diminished in the sixteenth century by the construction of an imperial citadel by Charles V in 1543–44 and by the inclusion of Cambrai in the reorganisation of the episcopal structure of the Low Countries.[12] The ancient diocese of Cambrai had stretched as far, and had included, the cities of Antwerp and Brussels, but under the new bishoprics scheme implemented in 1559, its geographical extent was significantly reduced. Furthermore ecclesiastical anomalies were addressed at that time, such as the divided jurisdiction over Valenciennes so that the town fell fully within the new diocesan boundaries. As compensation for its reduced jurisdiction, Cambrai was raised to the status of an archbishopric and the head of province which included the French-speaking dioceses of Arras, Namur, Saint Omer and Tournai.[13] This elevation was marked by a second ceremonial *joyeuse entrée* made by the bishop Maximilien de Berghes in March 1562, who entered Cambrai and the cathedral as the city's first archbishop.[14]

The importance of the rites of consecration and reconciliation had been emphasised within the empire at around the same date as the re-consecration of the abbey church of St Jean in Valenciennes. As a prince of the Holy Roman Empire, the bishop of Cambrai had been included in the efforts made by Charles V to establish a religious

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Caspers C. – Schneiders M. (eds.), *Omnes Circumstantes. Contributions Towards a History of the Role of the People in the Liturgy* (Kampen: 1990) 156–157.

[12] Ruiz Ibáñez J.J., "Théories et pratiques de la Souveraineté dans la monarchie hispanique: un conflit de jurisdictions à Cambrai", *Annales Histoire, sciences sociales* 55, 3 (2000) 623–644, here 626. On the impact of the citadel, see Spicer A., "Charles V, Saint Géry and the Religious Landscape of Early Modern Cambrai" (forthcoming).

[13] Dierickx M. (ed.), *Documents inédits sur l'érection des nouveaux diocèses aux Pays-Bas, 1521–1570*, 3 vols. (Brussels: 1960–62) vol. I, 7, 10, 13; *Recueil des ordonnances des Pays-Bas. 1506–1700*, ed. C. Laurent a.o. (Brussels: 1893–) VIII, 236–243.

[14] Archives du Nord, Lille, 3 G 1048; Leglay A., *Cameracum Christianum ou Histoire ecclésiastique du diocèse de Cambrai* (Lille: 1849) 60; *Biographie nationale*, 44 vols. (Brussels, 1866–1986) vol. II, cols. 219–220.

settlement for his German territories in the wake of his victory over the Schmalkaldic League at the battle of Mühlberg (1547) and prior to the conclusion of a general council of the Church. The negotiations at the Diet of Augsburg resulted in 1548 in the Interim, which was accepted by the Protestants. But as this was rejected by the Catholics, a further settlement of ecclesiastical reform was compiled for their territories, called the *Formula reformationis Caesareae Majestatis*.[15] Amongst a range of matters covered by the document, the sixteenth chapter considered ecclesiastical ceremonies and, within this section, specifically the importance of the rite of consecration:

> Likewise we consecrate churches, altars, chalices, corporals, sacerdotal vestments, bells and other equipment of the church, which are removed from civil and profane usages and fitted and made over only to the ministry of the sacraments of Christ, so that we may know that in the church we should have no leisure except for sacred and divine things, the grace of God being there present as some divine power, and that we are called by the bells from worldly tasks and business to prayer, the praises of God and the sacred mysteries: and so that we should conclude from such a wealth of equipment and from so many consecrations with what reverence the sacrifice of the body and blood of Christ should be separated and distinguished from profane things.[16]

The *Formula reformationis* therefore emphasised the importance of consecration as a means of separating the places and instruments of divine worship from the secular world, dividing the holy from the secular. It provided a reaffirmation of the significance of the sacral character of the mass, which had been diminished in the Interim of Augsburg.[17]

The diocesan synod convened at Cambrai in 1550 by the bishop, Robert de Croy, examined the *Formula reformationis*, which was published as an appendix to the decrees from this gathering. The assembly

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[15] Rabe H., *Reichsbund und Interim: die Verfassungs- und Religionspolitik Karls V. und der Reichstag von Augsburg 1547/1548* (Cologne: 1971); Post R.R., "Karel V' *Formula Reformationis* en haar toepassing in Nederland", *Mededeelingen van de Koninklijke Nederlandse Academie voor Wettenschappen*, new series 10, 7 (1947) 173–197.

[16] Pfeilschrifter G., *Acta Reformationis Catholicae. Ecclesiam Germaniae Concernentia Saeculi XVI. Die Reformverhandlungen des Deutschen Episkopats von 1520 bis 1570* (Regensburg: 1974) 369.

[17] Rein N.B., "Faith and Empire: Conflicting Visions of Religion in Late Reformation Controversy – The Augsburg Interim and Its Opponents 1548–50", *Journal of the American Academy of Religion* 71 (2003) 57–59, 64–66.

considered a range of matters relating to ecclesiastical reform, including education, clerical standards and excommunication.[18] The published acts also included the *Antiqua statuta synodalia Cameracensia*, which were a series of diocesan statutes which dated back to the early fifteenth-century theologian, bishop and cardinal of Cambrai, Pierre d'Ailly (d. 1420). These statutes were revised and updated by the synod. Besides the synod's reassertion of the rite of consecration included within the *Formula Reformationis*,[19] the ancient statutes addressed the issue of the pollution of churches and the importance of reconciliation. Those responsible for committing offences 'whereby blood is criminally shed in the church or cemetery' were to be fined and measures were put in place for the reconciliation of these places, under threat of excommunication, within a limited time period. It is also interesting to note that if a church was violated, the pollution also applied to the churchyard, thereby reflecting the apparent gradations of holiness. The ancient statutes stated:

> […] those churches and cemeteries, which have been polluted by the effusion of blood and those which shall happen to be polluted in the future at the persuasion and instigation of the devil, shall not remain long under such defilement, we determine that if he or they by whose deed or fault they are or have been or will hereafter be polluted, does not procure with effect the reconciliation of the said churches and cemeteries within a month after they have been lawfully required for this purpose by the incumbents of the said churches or cemeteries […] they should be bound by the bond of excommunication and should be publicly proclaimed.
>
> […] churches polluted by the emission of blood or semen are to be reconciled by us either of our own mandate or that of our deputy, whether the churches or cemeteries have been dedicated or not, and in the meantime until such time as they are reconciled, let none be buried there.

[18] *Acta et decreta Synodi dioecesanae Cameracensis, praesidente Reuerendissimo in Christo patre ac Illustrissimo Principe Domino D. Roberto de Croy, Episcopo et Duce Cameracensi, Sacri Imperii Principe, Comite Cameracensi etc. celebratae anno Redemptoris nostri Iesu Christi MDL mense Octobri* (Paris, Matthaeus David: 1551); Lancelin H., *Histoire du Diocèse de Cambrai* (Valenciennes: 1946) 161–165. See also Crahay R., "Les mesures concernant l'enseignement dans le diocèse de Cambrai à l'époque de la Contre-Réforme, d'après les décrets des synodes locaux", in *Hommages à la Wallonie. Mélanges offerts à Maurice A. Arnould et Pierre Ruelle* (Brussels: 1981) 67–69; Deregnaucourt G., *De Fénélon à la Révolution. Le clergé paroissial de l'Archevêché de Cambrai* (Lille: 1991) 163–164.

[19] *Acta et decreta Synodi dioecesanae Cameracensis* 195.

> If a cemetery shall be polluted by the effusion of blood or semen, the church will not be polluted on this account; but if the church be polluted in either of the aforesaid ways, the cemetery will be polluted if it be contiguous to the church, not so however if it be removed from the church; and until it be reconciled let none be buried there.[20]

These acts in the *Formula reformationis* and the *Antiqua statuta synodalia Cameracensia*, meant that within the diocese of Cambrai there was a reassertion of the fundamental principles relating to consecration and reconciliation. The decrees reflected in an abridged form the detailed statement on consecration, reconciliation and pollution in the liturgical commentary *Rationale divinorum officiorum*. Composed in 1286, the treatise provided a thorough examination of the rites and ceremonies of the Catholic Church in the late thirteenth century. The treatise was written by Guillaume Durand, a liturgist, Papal administrator and bishop of the French diocese of Mende.[21] Durand used allegorical imagery to explain the meaning and symbolism of the religious rites. The sixth chapter of the *Rationale*, entitled "On the dedication of a church", provided a history of the rite of consecration and its liturgy. It specified who could officiate, the reasons for the rite, how it should take place and the significance of the different elements.[22] The rites of reconciliation and the circumstances in which this would be necessary were also detailed here.[23] A further chapter considered the consecration of the altar, which it explained was necessary because this was the place where the sacrifice of the mass took place and the name of God was invoked.[24] By the early fifteenth century the *Rationale divinorum officiorum* was one of the most circulated liturgical treatises with over two hundred Latin manuscripts as well as many other vernacular translations.[25] It was these medieval traditions concerning consecration and the preservation of sacred space that were reaffirmed in 1550 through the statutes of the synod of Cambrai.

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[20] Ibidem, 116–117.
[21] *Rationale divinorum officiorum* xvii–xviii.
[22] Ibidem, 60.
[23] Ibidem, 72–76.
[24] Ibidem, 77.
[25] *Rationale divinorum officiorum* xxii, xxiv. See also Albaric M., "Les éditions imprimées du *Rationale Divinorum Officiorum* de Guillaume Durand de Mende", in Gy P.-M. (ed.), *Guillaume Durand, Evêque de Mende (v. 1230–1296). Canoniste, Liturgiste et homme politique* (Paris: 1992) 183–205.

The institutional reform of the Catholic Church culminated in the decrees issued by the Council of Trent in 1564. As the decisions reached by the council were largely concerned with matters of doctrine and reform than actual religious practice, they do not make any specific statements about the sanctity of places of worship or the rites of consecration and reconciliation. In a number of the chapters, however, there were statements which implicitly acknowledged the importance of where the mass was celebrated. The references are often tangential, such as the prohibition on the illegitimate children of the clergy from holding benefices on the grounds that 'the memory of a father's sin should be kept away from places consecrated to God, where purity and holiness are most in place'.[26] One chapter dealt with churches which had fallen into disrepair and warned that 'great care should be taken that what is dedicated to divine service should not fall into decay by the wastage of time and pass out of human memory'.[27] The bishops were to restore these places of worship but if this was not possible, they were granted the authority 'to turn over both the said parish churches and others that are in ruins, to respectable secular uses, but with a cross set up in each'.[28] In the final session of the council, the Catholic Church's position on the invocation, veneration and relics of the saints and sacred images was discussed. It condemned those who argued that 'no veneration or honour is owed to the relics of saints, or that it is futile for people to honour them or other sacred memorials'.[29] After an explanation of the appropriate role and use of religious images, the bishops were enjoined to ensure 'nothing occurs that is disorderly or arranged in an exaggerated or riotous manner, nothing profane and nothing unseemly, since holiness befits the house of God'.[30] Furthermore in attempting to ensure an appropriate setting for divine worship, it considered that 'holy things must be treated in a holy way'. The decrees prohibited the celebration of the mass 'in private houses, and wholly outside a church or the oratories dedicated exclusively to divine worship' and condemned 'all worldly activities, empty and secular conversations, walking about, noises and cries, that

[26] Tanner N.P. (ed.), *Decrees of the ecumenical councils*, 2 vols. (London: 1990) vol. II, 793.
[27] Ibidem, vol. II, 730.
[28] Ibidem, vol. II, 731.
[29] Ibidem, vol. II, 775.
[30] Ibidem, vol. II, 776.

so the house of God may truly be called and seen to be a house of prayer'.[31] The Council of Trent therefore served to reassert the sanctity of places of worship and the belief that they could be profaned, but did not result in any specific changes to the medieval canons and rites of consecration and reconciliation.

The archdiocese of Cambrai was considered as being the first to implement the Tridentine decrees in northern Europe.[32] Following the consultation sanctioned by the king on the implementation of the Council's measures and the reform of the clergy by the nine wise men in Brussels, a provincial synod was held in June 1565.[33] The restoration and reform of the Church, through the Tridentine decrees, was regarded as providing one means to combat the growth of the Reformed Church in the Netherlands, particularly in the Walloon towns of Tournai and Valenciennes. The archbishop, Maximilien de Berghes, in his opening address to the synod reflected on the increasingly militant religio-political climate and the potential threat to the sacral landscape if the Tridentine decrees were not accepted. After urging obedience to the Papacy and arguing that opposition would be akin to resisting the Holy Spirit, he went on: 'Be warned that we could reach a similar situation to that produced in Germany, in France, in England, in Scotland, where the collegiate churches are suppressed and their goods directed to profane uses, the episcopal seats and parish churches delivered to the heretics. I will pass over in silence about the monasteries for all the world knows that in many places, the monks are not only expelled but bled dry and their houses ruined'.[34]

Although some religious houses and chapters resisted the potential infringement of their privileges, the measures agreed by the Council of Trent were accepted and recorded in the synodal decrees, published the following year.[35] While the synodal decrees of 1565, like Trent itself, made no reference to the rites of consecration, they did include a summary of the Tridentine canons on the invocation and veneration of relics, saints and the use of images.[36]

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[31] Ibidem, vol. II, 734, 736.

[32] Brussels, Archives Générales du Royaume, Audience 494 fol. 150r.

[33] Soen V., "Between Dissent and Peacemaking. Nobility at the Eve of the Dutch Revolt (1564–1567)", *Revue belge de Philiologie et d'Histoire* 86 (2008) 745–748.

[34] *Canones et decreta sacri Concilii provinicialis Cameracensis* (Antwerp, Willem Silvius: 1566) fol. 6v.

[35] Willocx F., *L'introduction des décrets du Concile de Trente dans les Pays-Bas et dans la principauté de Liége* (Louvain: 1929) 156–166.

[36] *Canones et decreta sacri Concilii provinicialis Cameracensis*, fols. 34r–37r.

The Council of Trent, however, had dealt principally with theological and institutional concerns rather than liturgical matters but at its final session, it entrusted the matter of liturgical reform, in particular of the breviary and the missal to the Papacy.[37] The rites for the laying of the first stone, the consecration of churches, altars, liturgical vessels, cemeteries etc., and their reconciliation as well as other ceremonies performed by bishops were included in the pontifical. The *Pontificale Romanum* was issued by Clement VIII in 1595 and it was enjoined upon the whole Church the following year, replacing all other pontificals and diverse diocesan practices to establish a single form of ceremonies to be used by all Catholic bishops.[38] This *Pontificale Romanum* was a reassertion of the medieval liturgies of consecration and was largely derived from the pontifical of Guillaume Durand, which had long been recognised as the authoritative statement of these rites.[39] Durand's pontifical had been the culmination of the series of early medieval sacramentals and pontifical, which had outlined these rites since the time of the Church Fathers.[40] A version of this pontifical had been published as the *Liber Pontificalis* in 1485 and there had been further editions and minor revisions before the publication of the *Pontificale Romanum*.[41]

Although the archdiocese of Cambrai did not adopt the Roman missal and breviary until the eighteenth century,[42] retaining their own liturgy until then, it seems unlikely that this was the case with the pontifical [Fig. 2]. While there are two extant pontificals representing

[37] Tanner, *Decrees* vol. II, 797.

[38] De Puniet P., *The Roman Pontifical. A History and Commentary* (London: 1932) 49–51; Ziolkowski T.S., *The Consecration and Blessing of Churches. A Historical Synopsis and Commentary* (Washington: 1943) 22–24.

[39] De Puniet, *The Roman Pontifical* 37–43; Andrieu M., *Le pontifical romain au Moyen-Âge*, 3 vols. (Vatican City: 1938–1941) vol. I, 17–18.

[40] For an overview, see Méhu D., "*Historae* et *Imagines* de la consécration de l'église au Moyen Age", in Méhu D. (ed.), *Mises en Scéne et mèmoires de la consécration de l'église dans l'Occident médiéval* (Turnhout: 2007) 15–28.

[41] De Puniet, *The Roman Pontifical* 44–49; Ziolkowski, *The Consecration and Blessing of Churches* 22–23.

[42] Hautcoeur E., "La liturgie cambrésienne au XVIII^e siècle, et le projet de Bréviare pour tous les diocèses des Pays-Bas", *Annalectes pour servir à l'histoire écclesiastique de la Belgique* 2nd ser., 1 (1881) 253–325; Haggh B., "The First Printed Antiphoner of Cambrai Cathedral", in Staehelin M. (ed.), *Gestalt und Entstehung musikalischer Quellen im 15. und 16. Jahrhundert* (Wiesdbaden: 1998) 102; Haggh B., "Simon of St Victor and the Sequence Repertory at Cambrai Cathedral", in Andrée A. – Kihlman E. (eds.), *Hortus Troporum. Floriilegium in Honorem Gunillae Iversen* (Stockholm: 2008) 92–93. I am very grateful to Professor Haggh-Huglo for her guidance and assistance on the liturgical rites of Cambrai.

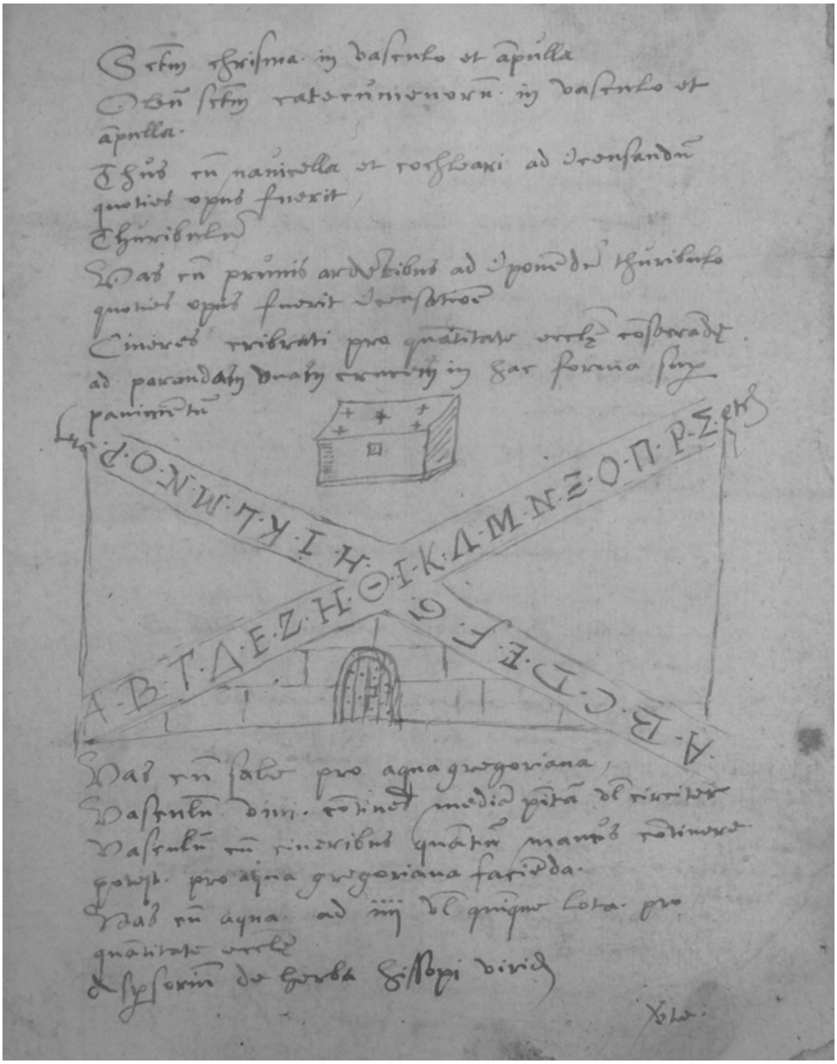

Fig. 2. An altar and the alphabet ceremony from a fifteenth-century rite of consecration from the diocese of Cambrai (Lille, Collections archives départementales du Nord, MS. 3 G 2830, fol. 57r).

much older liturgical traditions, there was a copy of the Durand's Roman pontifical at Cambrai by at least the fifteenth century. The liturgy for the consecration of altars in a fourteenth-century manuscript of Durand's pontifical, was annotated with the litanies of saints, including the Cambrésienne St. Géry, during the following century.[43] Reference should be made to one further pontifical, which belonged to the late fifteenth-century bishop Henri de Berghes and subsequently passed into the possession of the cathedral.[44] This provided a German variant on the traditional Roman pontifical.[45] It is, however, impossible to identify which rite of consecration was employed by Martin de Cuyper for the consecration of the abbey church of St Jean in 1548 or other altars and churches in the archdiocese.[46] It could have been the Cambrésienne version of Durand's pontifical, another pontifical or an edition of the *Liber Pontificalis*.

The introduction of the Tridentine reforms within the province of Cambrai was overtaken and given added urgency by the troubles of 1566–67. Following political pressure the Regent Margaret of Parma had agreed to suspend the placards against heresy in the Moderation of April 1566. During the subsequent months, large audiences gathered to hear Reformed sermons, particularly outside of Tournai and Valenciennes but also at Antwerp and other towns in the Southern Netherlands. In August, the hedge preaching gave way to the Iconoclastic Fury, an outburst of image-breaking, which spread rapidly across the southern provinces and throughout the Netherlands, and in certain towns presaged the takeover of churches for Reformed worship. Following the seizure of churches, particularly in Antwerp, Margaret of Parma was forced to reach a consensus with the nobility in order to restore order. The resistance of some towns, including Valenciennes,

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43 Andrieu, *Le pontifical romain au Moyen-Âge* I, 18–19; III, 57–71; Kay R., *Pontificalia. A Repertory of Latin Manuscript Pontificals and Benedictionals* (Kansas: 2009), 25–26 at http://kuscholarworks.ku.edu/dspace/bitstream/1808/4406/3/PONTIFICALIA.pdf, accessed 12 March 2010. For a further fifteenth-century rite for consecrating a church from the diocese of Cambrai, see Lille, Archives du Nord, MS. 3 G 2830, fols. 57–59.

44 Kay, *Pontificalia* 26; *Cantus 21. Mémoires du chant. Le livre de musique d'Isidore de Séville à Edmond de Coussemaker*, ed. B. Bouckaert (Lille: 2007) 32–33.

45 Dykmans M., *Le pontifical romain révisé au XV^e^ siècle* (Vatican City: 1985) 41–61, esp. 51–57.

46 Berlière, *Les Evêques auxiliaires de Cambrai et de Tournai* 94–100.

resulted in military force being used to restore royal authority in the Habsburg Netherlands.

In the wake of these religious troubles, the Regent was keen to restore the religious landscape and with her encouragement an assembly of the bishops was held at Cambrai in April 1567 'for the remedy and pacification of these troubles, and particularly for the execution of the Council [decrees], reformation of abuses and extirpation of heresies'.[47] The assembly discussed measures concerning the return of heretics to the Church, particularly in relation to the sacraments of baptism, marriage and communion. These issues were reflected in the canons of the diocesan synod which was held several months later.[48] This reassertion of the sacraments and traditional Catholic teaching was reinforced by the *Instruction par manière de formulaire, pour les pasteurs et curez de la province de Cambray* composed by François Richardot, bishop of Arras. This book was intended to shed light on the principal controversies and points of dispute that had arisen for the clergy in the province.[49] It was a defence against 'the sectaries of our time oppugning the Church in its authority and its doctrine'.[50] This text did not address the troubles directly but it did reaffirm the veneration of relics and the role of images in worship, which echoed in more depth the Tridentine decrees on this issue.[51]

Besides the intention to further Catholic reform, the meeting of the bishops in April 1567 was also concerned by the destruction and devastation meted out by the Iconoclastic Fury on the ecclesiastical fabric and sacral landscape of the province. The bishops called upon 'the local inhabitants and parishioners to report to the bishops or their officials, the churches, altars and cemeteries that have been polluted so that they can be reconciled or if necessary dedicated and consecrated again'.[52] While contemporaries denounced the actions of the image-breakers as sacrilegious, in accordance with the Tridentine condemnation of

[47] Quoted in Willocx, *L'Introduction des décrets du Concile de Trente* 167.

[48] *Synodus Dioecesana Cameracensis, celebrata anno 1567* (Brussels, Michiel de Hamont: 1567–1568) fols. 17v–19r.

[49] François Richardot, *Instruction par manière de formulaire, pour les pasteurs et curez de la province de Cambray, sur les matières controverses entre les catholicques et les sectaires affin que seurement* […] *ils puissent enseigner leurs peuples quand les occurences se présenteront de traitter desdictes matières* (Arras, C. de Buyens: 1567) fol. 5.

[50] Richardot, *Instruction par manière de formulaire* fol. 4r.

[51] Ibidem, fols. 153v–162r.

[52] Brussels, Archives Générales du Royaume, Audience 244A, fol. 34v.

profaning 'the house of God', as this decree illustrated there was a distinction between the reconciliation and re-consecration of a church or altar. Although before 1234, the removal or destruction of an altar meant that a church was no longer sanctified, following a Papal decree it became accepted that a place could only be desecrated if its walls were no longer standing.[53] Therefore the razing of the abbey of St Jean by fire led to the church being re-consecrated but the sacking of the building by the iconoclasts in 1566, may have been profanation, but it did not technically constitute desecration under canon law because the walls were still in tact.[54] Furthermore the violation or pollution of a church came about through the spilling of blood or semen, which meant that the building could not be used for divine service until it was reconciled.[55] Similarly where minor damage had been inflicted on altars, there was no need for them to be re-consecrated but in many instances during the iconoclastic fury, these had been overturned and the relics sealed within them scattered or burnt.[56] In the wake of the troubles, de Berghes and de Cuyper were required to re-consecrate a number of restored altars in Antwerp, for although the city was outside the newly formed archdiocese, it had not yet received a bishop. Similar re-consecrations took place in Tournai, fulfilling the ecclesiastical requirements outlined in the *Rationale divinorum officiorum*.[57] In Valenciennes, the high altar of the abbey of St Jean, which had been violated by the 'perfidious heretics' was reconsecrated by de Cuyper

[53] Gulczynski J.T., *The Desecration and Violation of Churches. An Historical Synopsis and Commentary* (Washington: 1942) 15–17, 24–27.

[54] See above, pp. 255–256.

[55] Gulczynski, *The Desecration and Violation of Churches* 30–36.

[56] *Rationale divinorum officiorum* 70–71; Duke A.C., "Calvinists and 'Papist Idolatry': The Mentality of the Image-Breakers in 1566", in his *Dissident Identities in the Early Modern Low Countries*, ed. J. Pollmann – A. Spicer (Farnham: 2009) 190–191.

[57] *Correspondance française de Marguerite d'Autriche, Duchesse de Parme, avec Philippe II*, ed. J.S. Theissen, 3 vols. (Utrecht: 1925–42) vol. I, 362–363, 382, 400; *Antwerpsch Chronykje in het welk zeer veele en elders te vergeefsch gezogte geschiedenissen, sedert den jare 1500 tot het jaar 1574* (Leiden, Pieter Van der Eyk: 1743) 134; Joannes Carolus Diercxsens, *Antverpia Christo nascens et crescens, seu Acta Ecclesiam Antverpiensem ejusque apostolos ac viros pietate conspicuos concernentia*, 7 vols. (Antwerp, J.F. Van Soest: 1773) vol. V, 52, 54; *Mémoires de Pasquier de le Barre et de Nicholas Soldoyer pour servir à l'histoire de Tournai, 1565–1570*, ed. A. Pinchart, 2 vols. (Brussels: 1865) vol. II, 269, 272, 273, 275, 284, 286, 309, 352, 358; Cousin Jean, *Histoire de Tournay ou Quatre livres des chroniques, annales, ou demonstrations du christianisme de l'evesché de Tournay* (Douai, Marc Wyon: 1619–20) 315; Berlière, *Les Evêques auxiliaires* 101–101, 152.

in March 1570.[58] Despite the precise canonical definition of what constituted the violation or pollution of a sacred place, de Berghes, de Cuyper and other bishops responded to secular demands, particularly from the Regent, for the reconciliation of churches after the devastation meted out by the iconoclasts.[59]

Besides the actions of the bishops in the reconciliation or reconsecration of churches in the wake of the troubles, the violation and pollution of sacred space through burial was considered at the diocesan synod in 1567. The decrees under the heading 'Ecclesiastical Sepulture and Obsequies' dealt partly with the Tridentine defence of purgatory and opposition to the abuses that arose from this doctrine but it also questioned 'To whom ecclesiastical sepulture is to be granted'.[60] The synod ruled that:

> […] we decree and ordain that in accordance with the constitutions of the church sacred sepulture be granted to none hereafter except him who has worthily prepared himself for death after the custom granted to the faithful, that is by confession and the reception of the Eucharist and of Extreme Unction.[61]

The statutes were careful to exclude from this condemnation those who died suddenly but it was clearly concerned to address the problem of obdurate heretics. This represented the continuance of the medieval practice of preserving the sanctity of the church or cemetery through prohibiting the burial of excommunicates, infidels or pagans in consecrated ground. If such a burial had taken place in the church, divine service was suspended and the church placed under an interdict. The corpse had to be removed from the church or cemetery before this space could be reconciled by a bishop.[62] With the rise of the Reformed movement, and in particular in the wake of the rebellion and the subsequent executions, preserving the sanctity of churches, graveyards and cemeteries became an important matter. These concerns were not

[58] Lille, Archives du Nord, MS. 40 H 377. On this occasion, the bishop granted the abbot of St Jean and his successors the right to consecrate their own altars. The abbots were still exercising this privilege in the seventeenth century.

[59] See Spicer A., "After Iconoclasm. Reconciliation and Resacralisation in the Southern Netherlands, c. 1566–1586" (forthcoming).

[60] *Synodus Dioecesana Cameracensis* fols. 15v–16r.

[61] *Synodus Dioecesana Cameracensis* fol. 15v.

[62] *Rationale divinorum officiorum* 75; Gulczynski, *The Desecration and Violation of Churches* 93–94.

confined to the Southern Netherlands but were seen elsewhere during the religious turmoil of the late sixteenth century.[63]

The question of interring non-Catholics within consecrated ground had already arisen in Bruges in 1563 and provoked a dispute which came to the attention not only of Margaret of Parma but also the king of Spain, Philip II. The ecclesiastical authorities in Bruges refused burial to an English merchant, John Cester, in consecrated ground because he had not died a Catholic; that is without showing any sign of penitence or having received the sacrament. The scandal and commercial implications of this decision alarmed the magistrates and led them to appeal to the regent. The bishop of Bruges, Petrus Curtius, resisted efforts to resolve the issue on the basis that canon law and Papal decrees forbade the burial of infidels and excommunicates in holy ground. The matter was referred to the king, but in the interim Margaret of Parma ordered the bishop to conform to the practice observed in other towns for burying foreign merchants.[64]

The growth of the Reformed movement during the early 1560s meant that concern over the burial of non-Catholics while attempting to preserve the sanctity of cemeteries and churchyards became a more serious issue. In the archdiocese of Cambrai, following the iconoclasm at Saint Amand near Valenciennes, the Reformed community interred a young woman in the local churchyard. Because of her adherence to the Reformed faith, the burial outraged the village's Catholic community. The Abbot of St Amand was Maximilien Morillon, better known for his position as the vicar-general of the metropolitan see of Mechelen; he recounted the incident in his correspondence with Cardinal Granvelle in October 1566. Morillon consoled himself with

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[63] See for example, Davis N.Z., "The Rites of Violence: Religious Riot in Sixteenth-Century France", *Past & Present* 59 (1973) 72; Roberts P., "Contesting Sacred Space: Burial Disputes in Sixteenth-Century France", in Gordon B. – Marshall P. (eds.), *The Place of the Dead in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge: 2000) 131–148.

[64] *Correspondance de Philippe II sur les affaires des Pays-Bas, 1558–1577*, ed. L.P. Gachard, 6 vols. (Brussels: 1846–1936) vol. II, 517–519, 520–521; Schrevel A.C. de, *Histoire du Seminaire de Bruges*, 2 vols. (Bruges: 1895) vol. I, 703–711; Decavele J., *De Dageraad van de Reformatie in Vlaanderen (1520–1565)*, 2 vols. (Brussels: 1975) vol. I, 163–168. A similar issue arose in Antwerp in 1588 concerning a Lubeck merchant buried in a church during the Calvinist republic, who was subsequently disinterred. *Laevinus Torrentius Correspondance*, ed. M. Delcourt – J. Hoyoux (Paris: 1950–1954) vol. II, 181–183.

the belief that when the king returned to the Netherlands, it would be simple to transport the corpse to beneath the gibbet.[65]

With the prosecution of those implicated in the events of 1566–67, a distinction was made between the burial of those who recanted their heretical beliefs before their execution and those who remained steadfast in their Reformed faith. In Valenciennes, the merchants and leading Calvinists during the rebellion, Michel Herlin and his son were beheaded on 21 May 1567 and the two Reformed preachers Guy de Brès and Pérégrin de la Grange were hanged. While the ministers were buried beneath the gibbet, the Herlins were initially interred in the churchyard of St Géry. Six weeks later on the orders of the court, the Herlins' bodies were exhumed and reburied beside a bridge, an area that was more often used for loading coal and quick lime.[66] The incident attracted attention further afield, such as in Lille where Mahieu Manteau described the execution and reburial of the Herlins as the greatest '*infirmité*' that had ever been experienced.[67] Nonetheless, the disinterment of the Herlins was fully in accordance with the measures intended to maintain the sanctity of the churchyard.

In Valenciennes, another chronicler recorded in detail those who obstinately persisted in their heresy and after their execution were buried beneath the gibbet, at the citadel or in gardens.[68] Those iconoclasts and rebels who renounced the Reformed faith and died as Catholics were interred in holy ground, even in the parish churches of Notre Dame de la Chaussée, St Francis, St Géry, and the Carmelite house.[69] The situation in Valenciennes was not unusual, the detailed *mémoires* kept by the beer porter Nicolas Soldoyer carefully noted those who had died as Catholics and were interred in the cemetery and churchyards of Tournai, unlike those who remained obdurate heretics and were denied a Christian burial in consecrated ground.[70] Although the practice reflected popular concerns about the sanctity of places of worship and their churchyards, it nonetheless was in accordance with

[65] Besançon, Bibliothèque Municipale, Collection Granvelle 92, Lettres de Morillon III, fols. 316v–17r.

[66] Le Boucq, *Histoire des Troubles* 5–26.

[67] *Chronique de Mahieu Manteau et de Pierre-Ignace Chavatte*, ed. M.E. Debièvre (Lille: 1911) 37.

[68] Le Boucq, *Histoire des Troubles* 32–33, 38, 40–41.

[69] Ibidem, 51–58, 60.

[70] *Mémoires de Pasquier de le Barre et de Nicolas Soldoyer* I, 67; II, 269, 272, 281, 285, 286, 287, 292, 293, 294, 296, 299, 300, 302, 304, 306, 311, 316.

canon law and diocesan decrees relating to the pollution and violation of consecrated ground.[71]

In the wake of the troubles of 1566–1567, the government and the ecclesiastical authorities were concerned to re-establish order and restore the celebration of divine worship. Where altars had been destroyed or seriously damaged by the iconoclasts, they were to be restored and re-consecrated while the sanctity of the parish churches and graveyards was to be maintained through excluding the Reformed from burial therein. In this respect, the institutional response to the religious violence at the beginning of the Revolt of the Netherlands and the assault on the sacral landscape, reflected the medieval principles concerning consecration and the preservation of these sacred spaces from pollution and violation. Although the Council of Trent had not addressed the issue of consecration and the sanctity of where the mass was celebrated, it was implicit in some of its decrees and it did condemn the profanation of these places. However, such issues were considered by provincial and diocesan synods as part of the wider discussions on Catholic reform, together with the reconciliation of churches and cemeteries after their violation and pollution. The synodal statutes for the diocese/archdiocese of Cambrai reflected the continuity of the medieval guidelines, although in response to the religio-political troubles the violation through interment also came to embrace heretics. A similar degree of continuity can be seen with regard to the rites of consecration; the *Pontificale Romanum* of 1595 was merely a revision of the established Roman pontifical which had been published a little over a century earlier and had represented a continuation of Durand's thirteenth-century pontifical. At Cambrai, the continuity of the medieval principles and liturgy of consecration coincided with the introduction of the Tridentine decrees and the programme of Catholic reform. In the subsequent decades the on-going political conflict and warfare in the region hindered the implementation of the decrees but also posed a renewed and serious threat to the

[71] *Statuta synodalia dioecesis Atrebatensis per Reverendissimum in Christo Franciscum Richardotum, eiusdem dioecesis Episcopum ordinata, cum veteribus predecessorum suorum piae memorae statutis adiectis* (Douai, Louis de Winde: 1570) 116–119, 121–122, 127–128, 144–148; *Statuta synodalia dioecesis Atrebatensis, a Francisco Richardoto, eiusdem dioecesis episcopo, ordinata; cum veteribus proedecessorum suorum statutis adjectis* (Antwerp, Joachim Trognaesis: 1588) 70–71.

sacral landscape of the archdiocese. The archbishops and their clergy attempted to maintain the norms of worship and the celebration of the mass in the face of this assault. In such circumstances, the reaffirmation of the medieval principles relating to the consecration of altars, churches, cemeteries etc. by the diocesan and provisional synods was of utmost importance for the restoration and reconciliation of places of worship and sustaining divine service during the on-going politico-religious violence of the Revolt.

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FOUNDATION RITES IN THE SOUTHERN NETHERLANDS: CONSTRUCTING A COUNTER-REFORMATIONAL ARCHITECTURE

Dagmar Germonprez*

On 2 July 1609, archdukes Albert and Isabella laid the first stone of the church of pilgrimage at Scherpenheuvel, one of the buildings they commissioned across the Netherlands. Being located in the land of 'heretics', at least according to a papal letter of indulgence of 1606,[1] the building project was of great importance to the archdukes. During the Eighty Years War, a large number of Catholic buildings in the Southern Netherlands had been damaged or destroyed during local iconoclastic uprisings and were now in dire need of repair or rebuilding. The reconstruction of these churches went hand in hand with a vigorous policy to restore Catholicism, the so-called Counter-Reformation.[2] The new church at Scherpenheuvel is an excellent example of the (re)building policy pursued by both the archdukes and the newly invigorated Catholic Church. In their monograph on the church, Duerloo and Wingens have pointed out the way several architectural elements, such as the cupola and tower, and devotional instruments have contributed to the strong ideological message of Scherpenheuvel both during and after its construction.

In this article, I will argue that early modern churches in the Southern Netherlands were already permeated with Counter-Reformational ideology *before* the building was constructed, namely from the moment of the laying of the first stone. The emergence of elaborate foundation ceremonies in this period was an important tool to manipulate the perception of the building at the onset of construction. Several

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* Many thanks to the Belgian Historical Institute in Rome, where the largest part of this article was written, as well as to the Special Research Fund of Ghent University, who generously funded my research.

[1] Duerloo L. – Wingens M., *Scherpenheuvel. Het Jeruzalem van de Lage Landen* (Louvain: 2002) 84, 97.

[2] For a discussion of the term Counter-Reformation, see O'Malley J.W., *Trent and All That: Renaming Catholicism in the Early Modern Era* (Cambridge: 2000) 128 and Blom J.C.H. – Lamberts E., *Geschiedenis van de Nederlanden* (Baarn: 2001) 191–195.

elements were at hand, such as the location of the new building, the date selected for the ceremony, the participants, and objects that were produced in occasion of the foundation ceremonies. This paper will show how each of these elements complemented one another in the complicated process of the construction of meaning. Besides the church of Scherpenheuvel, this contribution addresses several other examples of post-Tridentine architecture, such as the former Jesuit church of Ghent (1606), the Jesuit church of Brussels (1606), the abbey church of St Peter's in Ghent (1629), and the churches of the Discalced Carmelites in Brussels (1607) and in Antwerp (1615).

As Eco has observed, meaning in architecture is not confined to its utilitarian functions, but may also include a variety of symbolic dimensions and aesthetic functions.[3] In the context of this article, we consider the concept 'meaning' as a non-utilitarian function, rather as a particular connotation linked to a construction.[4] It may seem odd to attribute meaning to a building before it is being constructed. Yet, metaphorical images created by means of medals or poetry may be regarded as just as well carriers of meaning, complementary to those of the physical building. Besides, since the construction process of every Christian church starts with a ceremonial deposition of the first stone and ends with a solemn consecration,[5] these ceremonies are ideal opportunities to convey ideological messages and meaning.

The Foundation Ritual

The *Pontificale Romanum* prescribes that, on the day before the laying of the first stone of a church, a wooden cross is to be erected on the spot destined for the main altar.[6] The next day, the first stone is placed within the foundations of the church and blessed, along with the cross, according to explicit instructions. Although there is no archaeological evidence of the first stones of any church addressed in this article, the

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[3] Eco U., "Function and Sign: The Semiotics of Architecture", in Leach N. (ed.), *Rethinking Architecture. A Reader in Cultural Theory* (London: 2001) 187–189.

[4] Preziosi D., *The Semiotics of the Built Environment. An Introduction to Architectonic Analysis* (Bloomington: 1979) 68.

[5] The *Pontificale Romanum*, among the most important liturgical books of the Christian Church, contains rites performed by bishops. Cross F.L. – Livingstone E.A. (eds.), *The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church* (Oxford: 2005) 1316.

[6] *Pontificale Romanum Clementis VII primum, nunc denuo Urbani PP. VIII* (Antwerp, Plantin: 1707) 189.

prescriptions of the *Pontificale* and other descriptions indicate that the *primus lapis* should be a square corner stone.[7] This crafted a precious link with Christ as the cornerstone of the Catholic faith, an analogy featured in several bible passages.[8] By assembling all other stones – resembling the worshippers – upon this cornerstone as the source of all life on earth materialized the spiritual church building, even the Church as an institution.[9] The *Pontificale* did not prescribe inscriptions on the cornerstone, but this must have been fairly common, judging from literary sources[10] and archaeological evidence.[11] Furthermore, inscriptions were often recorded for posterity in chronicles and diaries. Matthias Untermann has pointed out that the physical cornerstone itself is of secondary importance, because 'the inscriptions on all stones [...] immediately become invisible with the continuation of construction [and] as far as they were meant for a lettered audience, the inscription only applies to the duration of the laying of the first stone or would have to work magically during its existence'.[12] To him, the first stone itself be merely part of an 'Akt von historischer Bedeutung', which was accompanied by the much more important 'Grundsteinlegungsfeiern'.[13]

Location

Locations charge building with meaning as a result of references they embody to historical events associated with the site of construction, references to biblical or geographical contexts, or a combination of

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[7] Only step by step, the form of the foundation stone developed into the classic cube and forms derived from it. Bobach R., "Zur Geschichte der Grundsteinlegung", *Acta Ethnographica Hungarica* 49 (2004) 60.

[8] *Is.* 28:16–17; 1 *Cor.* 3:10, 11, 16–17; 1 *Peter* 2:6–8 en *Eph.* 2:19–22.

[9] Plumpe J.C., "Vivum Saxum, Vivi Lapides. The Concept of Living Stone in Classical and Christian Antiquity", *Traditio. Studies in Ancient and Medieval History, Thought and Religion* 1 (1943) 9.

[10] Vries D.J. de, *Bouwen in de late middeleeuwen: stedelijke architectuur in het voormalige Over- en Nedersticht* (Utrecht: 1994) 109–122; Untermann M., "Primus lapis in fundamentum deponitur. Kunsthistorische Überlegungen zur Funktion der Grundsteinlegung im Mittelalter", *Cistercienser. Brandenburgische Zeitschrift rund um das cisterciensische Erbe* 6 (2003) 5–18; Rowald P., "Beiträge zur Geschichte der Grundsteinlegung", *Zeitschrift für Bauwesen* 54 (1904) 45.

[11] The archiepiscopal archives in Malines hold a first stone that possibly belonged to the cloister of St Magdalen in Brussels, laid by Archbishop Andreus Cruesen on 10 August 1661. Many thanks to archivist Gerrit Vanden Bosch for this information.

[12] Untermann, "Primus lapis" 11.

[13] Untermann, "Primus lapis" 16–17.

the two. As a consequence, the selection of a building site, apart from technical aspects, such as solid ground or proximity to a river, is never random. The abbey church of St Peter's in Ghent,[14] founded in 1629, was built on the location of the former abbey church that had been destroyed during the events of 1566. A volume of laudatory poems written in honor of the deposition of the first stone likened the location to that of St Peter's basilica in Rome. The poems glorify the topographical elements of the location of the new church, such as the nearby river Scheldt and the Blandinus hill on which the monastery was built. Both had obviously been deciding factors for the choice of the location of the original abbey in the seventh century, but in the context of the new foundation ceremony they were likened to the basilica on the *Mons Vaticanus* near the Tiber. The construction of the new abbey church clearly emulated the Counter-Reformational program pursued by the papacy in Rome. The new church in Ghent is hailed as an explicit and powerful response to this program, worthy of Roman approval: 'Now, go forth, wherever the road takes you, take this news with you downstream, so that the homes of the Aduatica [Tongeren] will be dumbfounded and the famous Arsenius [abbot Schaeyck] will be the talk of the day in Rome.'[15]

The location of the pilgrim church of Scherpenheuvel was equally meaningful. The altar of the church was positioned at the foot of an oak tree that housed a miraculous statuette of the Virgin Mary. Halfway through the sixteenth century, this oak had become the centre of a cult for pilgrims looking for cures from illness.[16] Building their church at that very location, the archdukes implored the Virgin Mary to 'cure' the Netherlands of war and disease, especially Protestantism.[17] The location of the pilgrimage church also contained a reference to the Bible, as it was erected on an isolated hill near the town of Zichem.

[14] Germonprez D. – Morel A.F., "Rituele betekenisgeving bij de contrareformatorische kerkbouw: de eerstesteenlegging van de Sint-Pietersabdijkerk te Gent (1629)", *Relicta* 7 (2011) 121–134.

[15] 'Nunc, age [Scaldi], qua ducit te semita, devehe Famam / Immortale ut surgat opus, fac tecta stupefant / Aduatica, & magna clarus naretur in urbe / ARSENIUS non se coctis tam moenibus altus', Gulielmus van Schoone a.o., *Amplissimo et Reverendo admodum Domino D. Ioachimo Arsenio A Schaick ad S. Petri in Monte Blandinio Abbati meritissimo Primati Flandriae* […] (Ghent, Ioannis Kerchove: 1629) 2.

[16] Duerloo – Wingens, *Scherpenheuvel* 23–24.

[17] A similar wish was expressed by Isabella in a large inscription on the façade of the *Broodhuis* in Brussels. Thøfner M., *A Common Art: Urban Ceremonials in Antwerp and Brussels During and After the Dutch Revolt* (Zwolle: 2007) 318–319.

According to the Old Testament, Joshua had placed a stone under an oak near the city of Shechem to mark the renewed pact between God and the people of Isreal.[18] In Zichem, the Mother of God had cried tears of blood to indicate this place for a new pact with the Netherlands.[19] The hill itself brings to mind the eternal rock of the prophesy of Isaiah and the *Mons Domus Domini* ('Mountain of the House of God').[20]

Still another example is the Jesuit church of Ghent, founded in 1606, which was built on the spot of the former courtyard and gardens of the prominent Calvinist Jan Hembyze. As mayor of Ghent, he had urged the Calvinists to demolish and 'desecrate' many Catholic buildings in the city.[21] Irrespective of whether Hembyze really had properties on that location – we know with certainty that he lived in the Volderstraat in Ghent[22] – at the time the Jesuit church was founded, people perceived an obvious connection between him and the place.

Dates

As far as the planning of the foundation ceremony is concerned, the generic prescriptions of the *Pontificale Romanum* indicate that the first stone must be laid either before the digging of a trench or at the time of the first masonry work. A later date is also allowed, as long as the building has not yet reached one meter in height.[23] Although this is never established as a firm rule, there was an apparent preference to stage foundation ceremonies in spring or summer during the Middle Ages.[24]

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[18] Popovic M., "Conquest of the Land, Loss of the Land: Where Does Joshua 24 Belong?", in Ruiten J. van – Vos J.C. de, *The Land of Israel in Bible, History and Theology: Studies in Honour of Ed Noort* (Leiden: 2009) 92.

[19] Duerloo – Wingens, *Scherpenheuvel* 46.

[20] Duerloo – Wingens, *Scherpenheuvel* 97, 118.

[21] Brouwers L., *De Jezuïeten te Gent 1585–1773, 1823–heden* (Ghent: 1980) 49: 'Quod in eius nefarii hominis Hambysii area atque hortis novum illud templum exstrui cernerent, cuius opera dirui multa antiqua ac profanari viderant'.

[22] Despretz A., "De instauratie der Gentse Calvinistische Republiek (1577–1579)", *Handelingen der Maatschappij voor Geschiedenis en Oudheidkunde te Gent* 17 (1963) 202.

[23] Boogmans L.J., "De eerste-steen van een kerk (naam, symboliek, voorschriften, plechtigheid)", *Het Gildeboek* 11 (1928) 45.

[24] De Vries, *Bouwen* 121; Untermann, "Primus Lapis" 8–10; Rowald, "Beiträge zur Geschichte" 43.

During the Counter-Reformation, foundation ceremonies were often planned to coincide with particular liturgical feasts. For example, the first stone of St Peter's in Ghent was placed on 14 April 1629, one day before Easter.[25] This invited an association between the resurrection of Christ and that of the church building after its destruction by iconoclasts; moreover, St Peter's in Rome was thought to have been founded on the Saturday before Easter.[26] Many foundation ceremonies were planned on feasts associated with the Virgin Mary, central in post-Tridentine devotion, given that protestants rejected her cult. The foundation of the church of Scherpenheuvel took place on 2 July 1609, the feast of the Visitation,[27] in remembrance of Mary's visit to her niece Elisabeth.[28] Within the context of the Counter-Reformation and the religious wars, this Visitation had acquired a specific meaning of the liberation from Protestantism. Along similar lines, the foundation ceremony of the Carmelite convent of Brussels took place on 25 March 1607,[29] the Feast of the Annunciation.[30] Finally, the church of the Carmelite nuns in Antwerp, was founded on 15 August 1615, the feast of the Assumption, as is revealed in a letter written by the founder of the Carmelite cloister in Antwerp, Anna of St Bartholomew.[31]

Who Lays the First Stone?

While the *Pontificale* charges the bishop with the privilege to lay the first stone of churches, this is true in only one of our cases, namely the abbey church of St Peter's in Ghent, of which bishop Antoon Triest laid the first stone. In all other cases, the first stones were laid by the

[25] Strubbe E.I. – Voet L., *De chronologie van de middeleeuwen en de moderne tijden in de Nederlanden* (Antwerp – Amsterdam: 1960) 131.

[26] On the alleged date of the foundation of St Peter's in Rome, see the Introduction to this volume.

[27] Duerloo – Wingens, *Scherpenheuvel* 89.

[28] During this visit, Elisabeth told Mary that she and the 'fruit of her womb' were blessed, expressing the privileged role of the Virgin Mary in the salvation of mankind. Today, this feast is celebrated on 31 May; in the Middle Ages, it was celebrated on 2 July. Bäumer R. – Scheffczyk L. (eds.), *Marienlexikon* (St. Ottilien: 1991) vol. III, 118.

[29] Terlinden C., "Le carmel Royal de Bruxelles", *Cahiers Bruxellois* 2 (1957) 13.

[30] Bäumer – Scheffczyk, *Marienlexikon* vol. VI, 606–610.

[31] This letter in Spanish, dated to 1 October 1615, is published in Beata Ana de San Bartolomé, *Obras Completas* ed. J. Urkiza, 2 vols. (Rome: 1985) vol. II, 373; Bäumer – Scheffczyk, *Marienlexikon* vol. I, 276–286.

archdukes.[32] The fact that these governors took center stage in at least four of these foundation ceremonies emphasizes their great interest in the foundation of new churches. This also results from portrait medals of the archdukes made for these occasions, indicating date, actors and location of the ceremony. To substantiate this interest even further, we might well regard bishop Antoon Triest as a proxy for the archdukes, as they had appointed him to his post in 1610[33] – following the privilege they had to appoint bishops in the Netherlands.

Paraphernalia

As the *Pontificale* does not provide specific prescriptions for the fabrication of paraphernalia to use during the foundation ceremonies, the possibilities for patrons were virtually endless. A first category of paraphernalia consists of objects that were placed along with the first stone – the so called *Bauopfer* or building deposits – and the second of plays and poems written in occasion of the foundation, and objects, such as heavily decorated troughs to attach the mortar to the first stone.

1. *Foundation Medals*

The deposition of objects along with the first stone was nothing new in the seventeenth century. Already in the Middle Ages, precious metals were often deposited with the foundation stone.[34] Possibly, a deposit of gold contributed to the perpetuation of the church through the symbolic value that was given to this precious metal.[35] According to De Vries, gold and silver symbolized the divine light and purity that were

[32] The church at Scherpenheuvel (1609), the Jesuit church in Brussels (1606) and the Discalced Carmelite church in Brussels (1607) and Antwerp (1615).

[33] Cloet M. – Collin L., *Het bisdom Gent (1559–1991): vier eeuwen geschiedenis* (Ghent: 1992) 66.

[34] At the cloister of Petershausen (983), the bishop deposited four gold coins in the foundations next to the first stone. Rowald, "Beiträge zur Geschichte" 283. Much better known is the foundation of the abbey church of St Denis (1140). Adamkova I., "Qualche considerazione sulla posa delle pietre nelle fondamenta degli edifici sacrali nel medioevo", *Listy filologické* 1–2 (2008) 39.

[35] Meier C., *Gemma spiritalis. Methode und Gebrauch der Edelsteinallegorese vom frühen Christentum bis ins 18. Jahrhundert* (Munich: 1977) 180–182.

to penetrate human action (including 'building').[36] Bobach emphasizes the role of the material itself: 'Precious metals count as protective against disaster, pure and solid'.[37] Whatever the exact reason, in the early modern period, there is a shift from the deposition of coins to that of foundation medals.

Commemorative medals were cast or minted in large or rather small numbers, and in different materials and sizes. Their appeal resided, apart from their permanent nature, in the fact that they combined text and image in a single object, circumventing the controversy between the written word and images (paintings or sculpture) as the most befitting medium to attain immortality.[38] This opportunity was provided at two levels, firstly, by distributing the medals among prominent participants of the foundation ceremony. Widely documented in Italy,[39] in case of the foundation of St Peter's abbey in Ghent, a gold medal was presented to the bishop for having deposited the first stone.[40] Furthermore, there were cast 57 medals,[41] presumably for distribution among the most distinguished guests. Secondly, deposited below ground, a foundation medal served as a perpetual testimony for future generations, well after the building would be destroyed. However, this last statement is disputed. Bobach for example, regards 'what is set within or alongside the first stone into the masonry […] as a remnant of the ancient building "sacrifices"'.[42] Granted, the practice to bury items at the start of building activities probably originates from so-called building sacrifices,[43] but for the period concerned, several historical sources explicitly motivate the use of medals by recalling the immortalization

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36 Vries de, *Bouwen* 115.

37 Bobach, "Zur Geschichte" 74.

38 Scher S.K., "An Introduction to the Renaissance Portrait Medal", in Idem (ed.), *Perspectives on the Renaissance Medal* (New York: 2000) 5.

39 Vries de, *Bouwen* 117–118.

40 State Archives of Ghent, Abbey of St Peter's, 34IB, no. 2311, fol. 133v.

41 'Oover het maecken vande medalien der voorschreven keercke […] tot den nombre van vijftich copere vergulde […] Item een fijne ghouwe waervan present ghedaen is aenden eerweerdichsten heere Bisschop van Ghendt, ende zes silvere'; State Archives of Ghent, Abbey of St Peter, 34IB, nr. 2311, fol. 133v.

42 Bobach, "Zur Geschichte" 73. On the contrary, Vries de, *Bouwen* 109 positions it in the 'blurred sphere of the building folklore'.

43 Satzinger states that the tradition probably originates from a pagan practice that has been sublimated in the course of centuries. Satzinger G., "Baumedaillen: Formen, Funktionen. Von den Anfängen bis zum Ende des 16. Jahrhunderts", in Satzinger G. (ed.). *Die Renaissance-Medaille in Italien und Deutschland* (Münster: 2004) 101.

of the building and its patron.[44] Weiss retraced the custom to deposit commemorative medals along with the first stone or in the walls of a new building to the early Renaissance in Padua.[45] At that time, it was regarded as a revival of a classical practice[46] – in particular Roman coins that bore images of buildings to commemorate a construction project. Starting from the fifteenth century, the usage seemed increasingly common across Italy.[47]

According to the archives of the abbey church of St Peter's in Ghent, one foundation medal was cast in pure gold, six in silver and fifty in gilded copper.[48] As far as we can tell from the specimens handed down to us and from the abbey accounts, all medals were identical in depicting the apostle Peter on the obverse, and the planned façade of the church on the reverse. A text surrounding the image identifies the church, its location and its patron: 'Ioachim Arsenius abb. S Petri iuxta Gand in Monte Bland'.[49] Underneath the façade, the year 1629 is depicted in Roman numerals. The combination of text and image on the medal connects several elements with one another. Abbot Schaeyck is identified both with the rebuilding of the church in Ghent, but also with the apostle Peter as founder of Christianity in Rome. Since building medals usually depict the patron,[50] the portrait on the medal has often been identified with that of the abbot.[51] Yet, the abbey accounts clearly mention 'pourtraict van Ste Pieters hooft'.[52] Particular emphasis

[44] See, for example, a source on the construction of the Marekerk in Leiden (1639): '[…] casting medals to immure them in the foundations, so that even in the event of destruction hundreds of years later, one would know where and when the church was built.' Original quotation in Dutch in Vries de, *Bouwen* 118. A citation of Cardinal Piccolomini from 1465 is also applicable: 'from a great desire for eternity […] so that when, after a thousand years [the buildings] fall down with age the monuments of Paul's name [i.e., the medals] would leap out', quoted in Clarke G., *Roman House – Renaissance Palaces. Inventing Antiquity in Fifteenth-Century Italy* (Cambridge: 2003) 28.

[45] Weiss R., *Un umanista Veneziano Papa Paolo II* (Venice – Rome: 1958) 70–71.

[46] Clarke, *Roman House* 25; Vries de, *Bouwen* 118.

[47] Johnson C., "Chiese del Periodo della Controriforma nelle medaglie", *Medaglia* 18 (1982) 31–59; Clarke, *Roman House* 25–29; and Satzinger "Baumedaillen" 97–137; Minou Schraven, "Out of Sight, Yet Still in Place. On the Use of Italian Renaissance Portrait Medals as Building Deposits," *Res* 55–56 (2009): 182–193.

[48] State Archives of Ghent, Abbey of St Peter's, 34 IB, nr. 2311, fol. 133v.

[49] Joachim Arsenius, Abbot of St Peter's on the mountain of Blandinius near Ghent.

[50] Clarke, *Roman House* 25–29.

[51] Laleman M.C., *De Sint-Pietersabdij te Gent* (Gent: 1992) 86; Deruelle M.I.J., *De St. Pietersabdij te Gent. Archeologische studie* (Ghent: 1933) 37–38.

[52] 'Portrait of St Peter's head'. State Archives of Ghent, Abbey of St Peter's, 34 IB, nr. 2311, fol. 133v. Many thanks to Koen Verboven for his suggestions.

Fig. 1. Foundation medal of the Jesuit church of Brussels, 1606. Brussels, Royal Belgian Library, Cabinet of medals (photo: author).

is laid on the dome, the only element of the building that is represented in perspective. Moreover, the lantern of the dome marks the beginning and end of the legend on the medal. While thus great emphasis is given to the dome, the clock tower – a typical local element – is omitted. Emphasizing this typically Italian element relates the newly founded church as a church true to the vitality of Catholicism, as it was pursued by Rome and its post-Tridentine program.

Another medal was issued in occasion of the foundation of the Jesuit church in Brussels on 23 June 1606 [Fig. 1]. It depicts a small circular *tempietto* with a *monstrans*, while the reverse contains a text commemorating the archdukes' laying of the first stone.[53] The legend surrounding the *tempietto* also mentions the archdukes and features the sign of the Jesuit order (IHS). While providing a symbolic depiction of the main function of the building as a shrine for the Holy Sacrament, the tabernacle-like structure on the medal also shows a striking resemblance with the ancient temple dedicated to Vesta,[54] depicted on

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[53] 'M.S. / ALBERTUS ET ISABELLA / AUSTRII / PII / FELICES / PP. P / SOCIETATI IESU / PP / MDCVI' which translates as 'The archdukes Albert and Isabella of Austria, loyal and joyful, fathers of the country, laid the First Stone for the Society of Jesus in 1606'.

[54] Cancik H. – Schneider H., *Brill's New Pauly. Encyclopaedia of the Ancient World* (Leiden – Boston: 2010) vol. XV, 341. The cult of Vesta was inextricably linked with

Fig. 2. Coins depicting the temple of Vesta under the reign of Nero and Vespasian (Mattingly et alii, *Coins of the Roman Empire* [London: 1923] plate 8. Giard, *Monnaies de l'Empire* [Paris: 1998] 170, plate LX).

numerous Roman coins.[55] As many emperors wished to be identified with this cult and temple, coins imaging this construction were cast over a long period. The ones most resembling the Jesuit medal date to the reign of Nero and Vespasian [Fig. 2].[56] Most probably, the inventors of the Brussels' medal were familiar with these coins, given the interest in classical Antiquity in this period, and the desire to imitate and restore the glory of ancient Rome, by referencing the buildings of Antiquity.[57] This interest for classical objects and monuments of Roman origins resulted in the study of Roman architectural remains and the collecting of objects, most particularly coins. In the Netherlands; Wenzel Cobergher, court architect to the archdukes, was very fond of classical coins, collecting an impressive collection during his stay in Rome. He even published a book with the coins of his collection and those he had seen elsewhere, along with some paragraphs of explanation.[58]

Among the coins with a Vesta temple in this volume, one is particularly interesting to us. The coin, struck during the reign of Domitian (81–96 AD), displays a representation of the round temple of Vesta on the Forum Romanum, with a striking resemblance to the Brussels' medal. In Cobergher's book, the coin is accompanied by a tiny sketch

the life and religion of the ancient Romans, as the Vestal virgins kept this fire burning in the public heart of the city.

[55] Many thanks to Lionel Devlieger for his written comments.

[56] Many thanks to Johan Van Heesch for his helpful suggestions.

[57] Scher, "An Introduction", 3.

[58] Apart from the book on Roman coins, he also wrote three volumes on ancient architecture, featuring ground plans and measurements of temples, baths, mausoleums and other antique structures. Daly D.M. (ed.), *Archäologie der Antike 1500–1700* (Wiesbaden: 1994) 61.

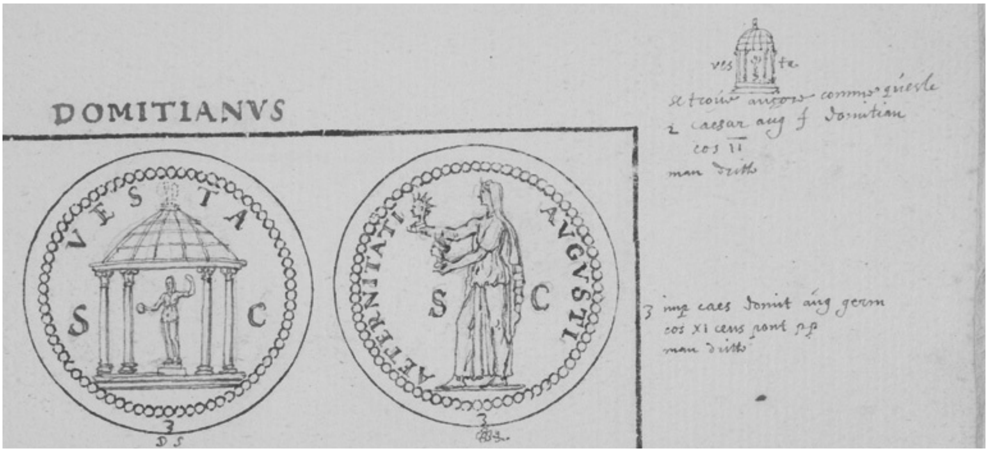


Fig. 3. Wenzel Cobergher, Coin of Temple of Vesta with study of Jesuit imagery in margin. Brussels, Royal Belgian Library, Precious Books, MS. 5575, fol. 22r, detail (photo: author).

made by the author in the upper right corner of the page [Fig. 3].[59] The name of Vesta, the inscription S(enatus) P(opulus) and the statue of the goddess on the Roman coin have been transformed in the Jesuit creed IHS (Iesus Homini Salvator), the inscription S(ocietas) I(esu) and a depiction of the Holy Sacrament within the temple on the medal.[60] Another parallel can be observed between the pall of smoke billowing from the Roman temple on the coin and the Cross depicted on the tabernacle and within the IHS monogram on the medal. The medal shows that the Jesuits made an analogy between their apostolic duties and the promotion of the cult of Vesta across the Roman Empire, which consisted of the distribution of coals from the perpetual ceremonial fire in the temple in Rome to temples dedicated to her cult across the Empire.[61]

Similarly, the archdukes were the main force behind the foundation of the church of the Discalced Carmelite Nuns in Brussels in

[59] Royal Belgian Library, "Medaglie de Coberger designate a mano", Ms 5575, fol. 22r. A short notice on the coin can be found in Ms 2052: "De Wensel Cobergher fiamengo pittor, observatione de medallie antiche de Iulio Cesar sino a Gallieno".

[60] Many thanks to Lionel Devlieger, who did useful research on this subject.

[61] Vincenzo Cartari, *Le imagini degli dèi degli Antichi nelle quali si contengono gl'idoli, riti, ceremonie et altre cose appartenenti alla religione degli Antichi* (Venice, Giordano Ziletti: 1571) 222.

Fig. 4. Foundation medal of the Discalced Carmelite church of Brussels, 1607. Brussels, Royal Belgian Library, Cabinet of medals (photo: author).

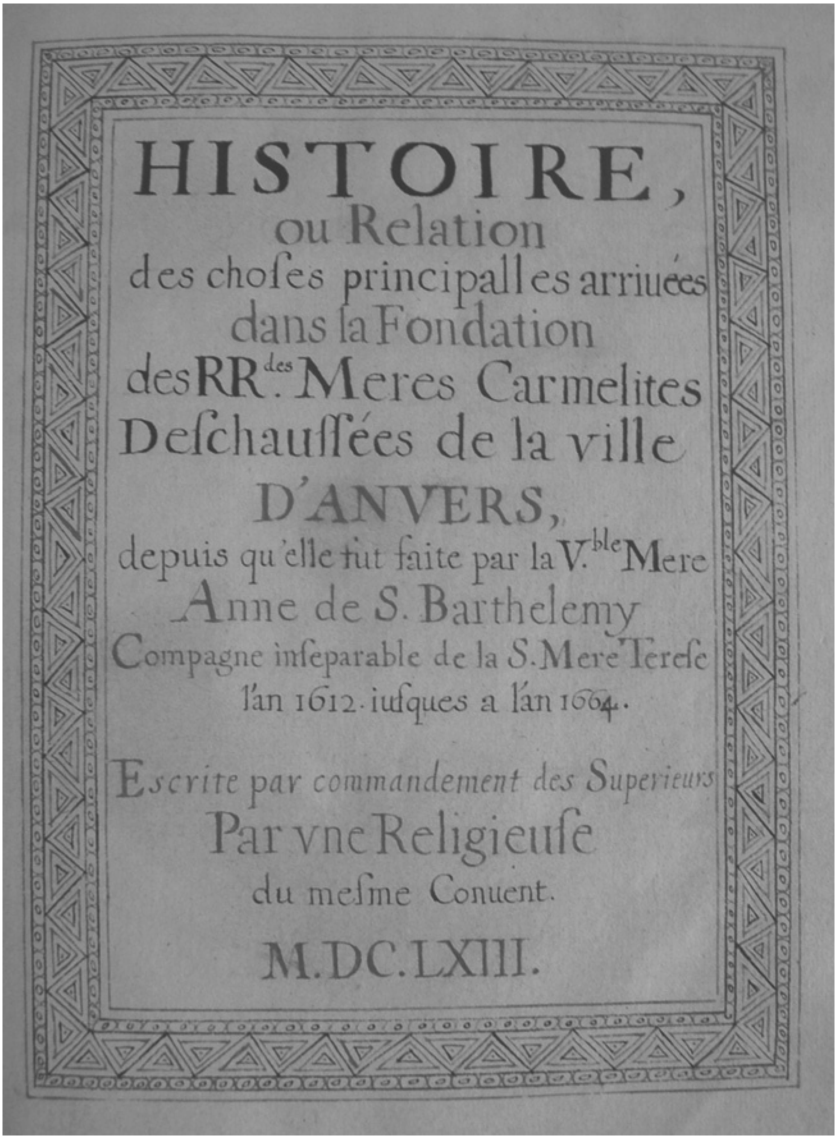
1607. Surrounded by several noblemen and dignitaries, they deposited the first stone on top of a leaden coffer filled with gold medals and applied mortar with a gilded trough.[62] The Royal Belgian Library holds two medals from this ceremony in its collection [Fig. 4]. Both depict the planned façade of the church, while the reverse names the actors, location and date of the foundation ceremony.

The archdukes also took center stage in the foundation ceremony of the church of the Discalced Carmelites in Antwerp. In this case, two silver medals were deposited below the first stone – at least according to a copy of a chronicle dating from 1663 [Fig. 5].[63] The largest medal depicted the planned façade of the church surrounded by the legend 'dedicated to the Blessed Teresa' ('M.C. BEATA TERESA DICATA') [Fig. 6].[64] On the reverse, a text was engraved, which translates as follows: 'Albert and Isabella, archdukes of Austria, dukes of Flanders and Holland, have single-handedly laid the first stone of this

[62] Henne A. – Wauters A., *Histoire de la ville de Bruxelles*, 3 vols. (Brussels: 1845) vol. III, 385.

[63] Archives of the Discalced Carmelite Nuns in Antwerp. Chronicles, Ms H2a: *Histoire ou relation des choses principalles arrivées dans la fondation des RR.* $^{\text{Des}}$ *Mères Carmelites deschauffées de la ville d'Anvers, depuis qu'elle fut faite par la V.*$^{\text{ble}}$ *Mère Anne de S. Barthelemy, compagne inseparable de la S. Mère Térèse* (1664) fols. 86r–87v.

[64] Many thanks to Patrick Pasmans for providing an image of this medal from his collection. Originally, the cloister also possessed a building medal, as revealed in the inventory.



HISTOIRE,
ou Relation
des choſes principalles arriuées
dans la Fondation
des RR.des Meres Carmelites
Deſchauſſées de la ville
D'ANVERS,
depuis qu'elle fut faite par la V.ble Mere
Anne de S. Barthelemy
Compagne inſeparable de la S. Mere Tereſe
l'an 1612. iuſques a l'an 1664.
Eſcrite par commandement des Superieurs
Par vne Religieuſe
du meſme Conuent.
M.DC.LXIII.

Fig. 5. Frontispiece of the Chronicle of the Discalced Carmelite church of Antwerp (1663). Antwerp, Archives of the Discalced Carmelite Nuns (photo: author).

Fig. 6. Foundation medal of the Discalced Carmelite church of Antwerp, 1615. Private collection (photo: Patrick Pasmans).

basilica in 1615'.[65] The smaller medal depicted a portrait of the archdukes on both sides. Compared to the church in Brussels, the post-Tridentine message is in this case more explicit, as a letter by Anne of St Bartholomew likened the founding of this convent to a 'plant of our H. Mother that sprouts between the weeds of the heretics'.[66]

2. *Written Paraphernalia*

The second group of paraphernalia consists of plays and poetry written in occasion of church consecrations. The writing of occasional pieces for the construction of a new church goes back to Eusebius' panegyric at the consecration of the basilica in Tyre in 314 CE.[67] Other literary genres, such as the *ekphrasis*, a skillful description of an object, or the *periegesis*, a verbal tour, were commonly employed to add luster to these ritual ceremonies. The same holds true for epigrams, theatrical

[65] 'M.S. PII , FELICES. PP.PP IN HAC BASILICA P.CI IX XV'. Surrounded by the legend: 'ALBERTUS ET ELISABET D.G. HISP. INF. ARCHID. AUST. D. BUR. C. FL. HOL'.
[66] S.n., *Zalige moeder Anna van Sint-Bartholomeüs en haar klooster in Antwerpen* (Antwerp: 2007) 24.
[67] Cross – Livingstone (eds.), *Dictionary of the Christian Church* 465.

plays and the *Descriptio Templi*.[68] These practices had a strong revival in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, in accordance with the post-Tridentine attention to the church building and its rituals, grounded in biblical exegesis within the *Studia Humanitatis*.[69] The Jesuits had a particular interest in this genre, given their concerns with education and traditions that highly valued literary exegesis. The texts were written rather in occasion of church consecrations than foundation ceremonies. In the Southern Netherlands, we only know of three Jesuit school plays written in occasion of church foundations.[70]

In seventeenth-century Germany, Jesuit students sang the praise of newly founded universities.[71] Instead, the theatrical plays of the Southern Netherlands provided an (allegorical) image of the planned church, by praising the qualities of the construction activities and materials. Sometimes, this imagery was enhanced by the inclusion of the planned church on the building medal or – in the case of the Ghent Jesuit church – by incorporating a scale model of the church in the play itself, as we will see below.

The only ceremony for which a volume of laudatory poems was written is the foundation ceremony of the abbey church of St Peter's in Ghent [Fig. 7].[72] Written by pupils of the local Jesuit College, the volume consisted of laudatory verses and ekphrastic poems, heralding the foundation of the new church and the Catholic restoration. In the laudatory poems, abbot Schaeyck is compared to Amandus, the Patron Saint of Ghent, who lived in the seventh century: 'Once in this place, Mercury prided himself on a foul sanctuary / The great Amandus

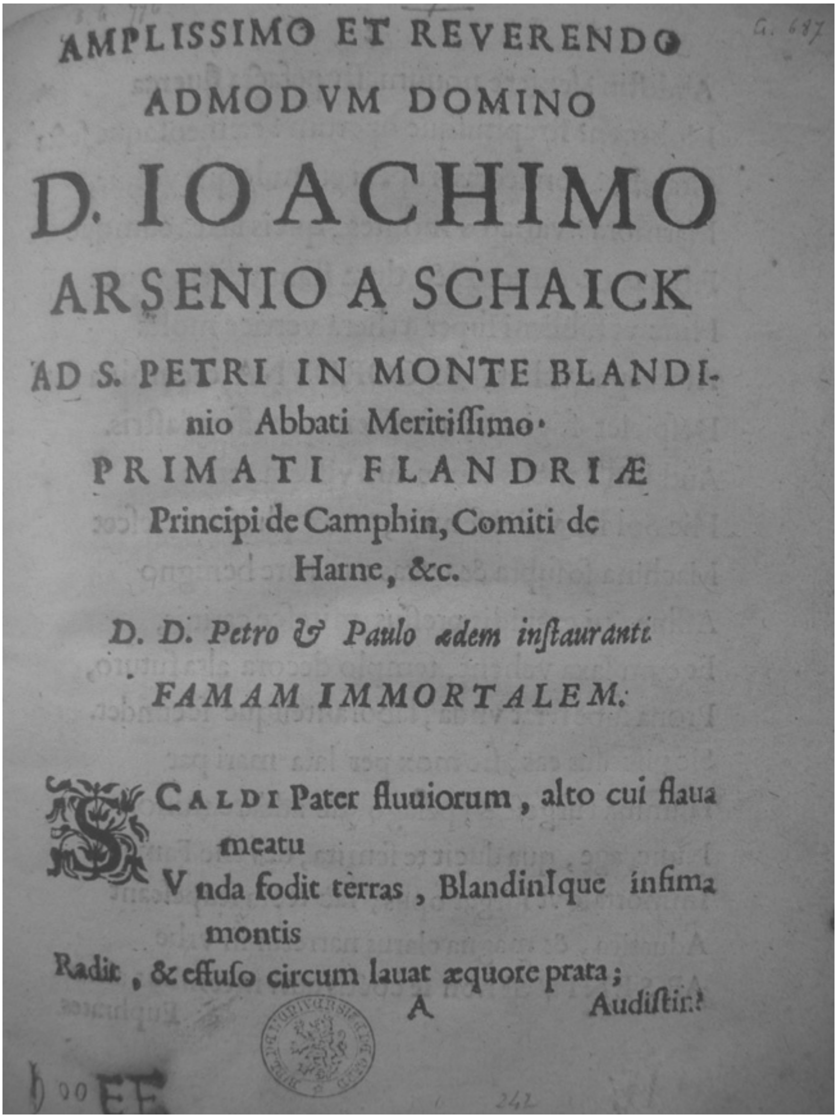
[68] Schlegelmilch U., *Descriptio Templi: Architektur und Fest in der lateinischen Dichtung des konfessionellen Zeitalters* (Munich: 2003) 25.

[69] Schlegelmilch, *Descriptio Templi* 119.

[70] Until now, we have not identified any early seventeenth-century publication on a consecration in the Southern Netherlands, as building rituals for this period primarily seem to be related to the disposition of first stones. In sixteenth and seventeenth-century Italy, consecrations instead had become genuine urban festivities, as demonstrated by the contributions of Roger Crum and Susan May to this volume. The plays referred to here concern the foundations of the church of Our Lady of Snow in Ghent (1606), a chapel in Oudenaarde (1619) and a church in Ypres (1620). Proot G., *Het schooltoneel van de jezuïeten in de Provincia Flandro-Belgica tijdens het Ancien Regime 1575–1773*, unpubl. Ph.D. (Antwerp: 2008) vol. II, 271, 365, 545.

[71] Kirwan R., *Empowerment and Representation at the University in Early Modern Germany: Helmstedt and Würzburg, 1576–1634* (Wiesbaden: 2009) 205–211, 217.

[72] Van Schoone, *Amplissimo et Reverendo.*



AMPLISSIMO ET REVERENDO
ADMODVM DOMINO
D. IOACHIMO
ARSENIO A SCHAICK
AD S. PETRI IN MONTE BLANDI-
nio Abbati Meritiſſimo·
PRIMATI FLANDRIÆ
Principi de Camphin, Comiti de
Harne, &c.

D. D. Petro & Paulo ædem inſtaurant.
FAMAM IMMORTALEM.

SCALDI Pater fluuiorum, alto cui flaua
meatu
Vnda fodit terras, BlandinIque infima
montis
Radic, & effuſo circum lauat æquore prata;
A Audiſti.

Fig. 7. Frontispiece of Van Schoone's volume of laudatory poems on the foundation of the abbey church of St Peter in Ghent (Ghent, van den Kerchove: 1629). Ghent University, Manuscripts Department.

pulled down the monuments'.[73] Besides converting several regions of Flanders to Christianity, Amandus had also founded the abbey of St Peter's. In the spirit of Amandus, Schaeyck too had fought against the protestant 'heresy'. The ekphrasic poems described the construction of the new church of which certain topographical and architectural components were likened to the basilica of St Peter's in Rome, as we have seen earlier.

In occasion of the foundation of the Jesuit church in Ghent, students of the local Jesuit college performed the play 'A comedy of the miraculous church building of Our Lady of the Snow' on 16 March 1606.[74] So far, it has been been impossible to find a copy. The play is based on the legendary founding history of the basilica of Santa Maria Maggiore in Rome. The Virgin Mary would have appeared to a Roman patrician Giovanni Patricio in a dream, urging him to build a church in her honour on a location that she would communicate to him. The next morning, in the midst of summer, snow was found on the Esquiline hill, where the church was then built.[75] Dating to the eleventh century, the legend of the Virgin of the Snow was documented in Nicholas IV's bull of 1288.[76] The theme of the play tied in with the post-Tridentine devotion to Mary, so dear to the Jesuit order. The location of the new church in the former courtyard of Hembyze, a prominent Calvinist who had strongly opposed Marian devotion, suggests the intervention of Mary in fighting heresy in the area. Allegedly, a model of the church was shown during the play.[77]

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[73] 'Olim, hic Mercurius sano se iactat oleni / Mercurii magnus monumenta evertit Amandus', Van Schoone, *Amplissimo et Reverendo* 5.

[74] Sommervogel C. et alii, *Bibliothèque de la Compagnie de Jésus*, 11 vols. (Brussels – Paris: 1892) vol. III, 1158–1159. Another play entitled *The vision of Joannes Patricius* had been performed on 12 May 1606. Proot, "Het schooltoneel" 271 mentions the date of 16 March, while and 12 May in De Potter F., *Gent, van den oudsten tijd tot heden: geschiedkundige beschrijving der stad. Fascimile-uitgave van oorspronkelijk werk uit 1866* (Handzame: 1969) IV, 189 mentions 12 May. Brouwers does not mention a date, but the title 'The vision of Joannes Patricius', indicating that he accepts the later date (Brouwers, *De Jezuïeten* 48).

[75] Luciani R., "Anamnesi degli interventi", in Luciani R. (ed.), *Santa Maria Maggiore e Roma* (Rome: 1996) 13.

[76] Amato F.M., "I fatti e i personaggi dalle origini ad oggi", in Luciani, *Santa Maria Maggiore e Roma* 313.

[77] De Potter, *Gent* 189.

Conclusion

All churches featured in this article were built or rebuilt when the Counter-Reformation was in full swing. Because stakes were running high, their anti-protestant message was to be spread from the very start of construction. Moreover, while foundation ceremonies could be planned, those of the consecrations were never known in advance, given the number of hazards that could slow down the building process, such as shortage of funds, death of the architect, or political tribulations. In case of the Brussels' church of the Discalced Carmelites, building went smoothly and lavish consecration ceremonies were indeed celebrated within five years after the laying of the first stone.[78] As we have seen, the ceremonial laying of the First Stone invested the new building with meaning in several ways. First, as demonstrated by the case of the Jesuit church in Ghent, the location selected for the new building played a part. In case of *rebuilt* churches such as the Ghent abbey church of St Peter's, the importance of a fresh start is accentuated. Secondly, dates selected for the ceremony could add to the investing of meaning. In case of the Jesuit church in Ghent, the execution of the Calvinist mayor Hembyze would not have passed unnoticed and the construction of a Catholic building on the spot of his former dwelling would have jolted the collective memory. Besides, many foundations took place on liturgical feasts connected with the cult of Mary, strongly opposed by Protestants. Thirdly, the identity of the person laying the first stone underlined the significance of the undertaking, and contributed to creating meaning as well. Last but not least, paraphernalia were often produced in honor of the ceremony. In many cases, one or several building medals were cast, a practice typically within the period. They could provide a image of the planned façade and commemorated the foundation ceremony above ground as well as below. Finally, poems or plays written in occasion of church consecrations contained unambiguous and explicit Counter-Reformation messages, especially in case of St Peter's in Ghent.

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[78] The consecration took place in 1615, when its anti-Protestant message still was relevant.

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VAN SCHOONE GULIELMUS et alii, *Amplissimo et Reverendo admodum Domino D. Ioachimo Arsenio A Schaick ad S. Petri in Monte Blandinio Abbati Meritissimo Primati Flandriae* (Ghent, Ioannis Kerchove: 1629).
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CHURCH CONSECRATION IN ENGLAND 1549–1715: AN UNESTABLISHED CEREMONY

Anne-Françoise Morel

Ever since the establishment of the Church of England, the consecration of churches has been a problematic issue. The abhorrence of superstitious practices, as well as the fear of idolatry resulted in a radical reduction of the rites and ceremonies used in church services. Drawing upon the earlier reforms, Elizabeth I (r. 1558–1603) defined the Anglican Church as

> a. A Catholic Church i.e. as belonging to the universal Church; b. An Evangelical Church i.e. firmly based on the Holy Scriptures, owing Spiritual authority; c. A Reformed Church i.e. purged of all medieval errors and superstitions.[1]

As a consequence of this 'purging' of superstitions, the sacred quality of objects was questioned, including the status of the church building with regard to its profane environment. The 'visible' Church of England was thus defined as

> a congregation of faithfull men, in which the pure Word of God is preached and the Sacraments be duly ministred according to Christ's ordinance in all those things that of necessity are requisite to the same.

Because of the emphasis on Word and Purity, it would take the Church of England more than 150 years to establish a consecration ritual and define the status of its church buildings. Ever since Elizabeth I, sermons had been fundamental for the worship of the Church of England. Because of the very emphasis on the Word, sermons delivered at church consecrations are most valuable resources for the study of the particularity of the English place of worship and liturgy. Moreover, as at that point no official consecration ritual had yet been established for the Church of England, the sermons also form a valuable corpus

[1] Butlin C.C.J., *The Thirty-Nine Articles of Religion of the Church of England, A Simple Handbook of Their History and Meaning, Together with Scriptural Proofs, Quotations From Authorities and List of Books for Further Reading* (Sheffield: 1986) 3.

of written material dealing both with the importance, role and formal aspects of the consecration, and the function and status of church buildings. Andrew Spicer has offered an important contribution on the sacredness of space in England between 1600 and 1640 ca., with his '*God Will Have a House*': *Defining Sacred Space and Rites of Consecration in Early Seventeenth-Century England*.[2] At that point, the English consecration had not been studied since Wickham Legg's comparative and valuable study of 1911, which mainly focused on the service and prayers used at the consecration.[3] My paper will use the consecration sermons in order to understand the act of consecration and its role in the Church of England. Based on the analysis of 43 sermons preached at consecrations between 1602 and 1735, this paper offers valuable insights in the way these sermons were used to justify the act of consecration by making references to the Scriptures and early Christianity purged from Roman Catholic superstition.

The first part of this contribution offers an overview of the legal and liturgical framework of consecrations well before a ritual form had been established. The second part focuses on the emphasis on the Word in consecration services of the Church of England, with particular attention to consecration sermons, their models and authors. Careful analysis of the sermons demonstrates that well before a ritual had been established, most consecration services addressed the same topics, both the act of consecration of the place of worship and the dichotomy between true and false worship.

Connecting directly to the uncontaminated religion of the Early Christians, the sermons wanted to break away from Roman Catholicism. Besides inaugurating the church building, the consecration ceremonies and sermons thus defined the Church of England as the one and only true religion, based on Scripture and early Christianity.

[2] Spicer A., "God Will Have a House: Defining Sacred Space and Rites of Consecration in Early Seventeenth-Century England", in Spicer A. – Hamilton S. (eds.), *Defining the Holy. Sacred Space in Medieval and Early Modern Europe* (Aldershot: 2005) 207–230.

[3] Wickham Legg J., *English Orders for Consecrating Churches in the 17th century, together with Forms for the Consecration of Churchyards, of the First Stone of a Church, the Reconciliation of Church and the Consecration of the Altar Plate* (London: 1911).

Canon Law, Injunctions and Visitation Articles

While other Churches of the Reformation had rejected the Canon Law of the Roman Catholic Church, the Church of England retained the concept, developing its own Canon Law from 1534 onwards. The 1535 statutes established that the existing Canon Law – the General Canon Law – should remain valid until a new code had been devised. An important legislative document was the *Legatine Constitution* of Otho (1237). The lemma on church consecrations stated that 'all churches should be hallowed within a year'. Referring to the Old and New Testaments, Otho demonstrated that the consecration ritual had become 'more worthy and more studious', once the celebration of Mass had replaced the offering of dead animals. Since Mass, the highest Office, could only be celebrated in a consecrated place, Otto decreed that this needed to happen within two years, otherwise the celebration of Masse would be interdicted.[4] The 1268 Constitution of Othobon shows many parallels with that of Otho, as far as consecration is concerned. To him, the dedication act set the physical building apart from its built environment as the act of purification that prepares the place for the sacrifice of Masse and the mercy of God.[5]

Both Constitutions remained valid throughout the Reformation. While the canons of Henry VIII (r. 1509–1547) did not mention the consecration of churches, his *articles of religion* generally prescribed the performance of existing rites and ceremonies, including exorcisms and other benedictions.[6] In all probability, this article applied also to church consecrations, as is restated in a rationale drawn during his Kingship:

> To have a common house for Christian people, which we call the church, is very necessary, that there they may come together, where the Word of God is preach'd, the sacraments are ministr'd and Prayers as well of the people as the Minister, to Almighty God are made; wherefore

[4] Otho, "Legatine Constitutions, 1237", in Lyndwood William, *Constitutions p[ro]uincialles, and of Otho, and Octhobone, translated in to Englyshe* (London, Robert Redman: 1534) 106, 107.

[5] Othobon, "Legatine Constitutions, 1268", in Lyndwood, *Constitutions p[ro]uincialles* 126, 127.

[6] Henry VIII, "Articles about religion, set out by the convocation and published by the Kings authority", in Burnet G. (ed.), *The History of the Reformation of the Church of England, of the Progress Made in it During the Reign of K. Henry the VIII* (London, T.H. for Richard Chiswell: 1679) online edition: Early English Books Online.

> 'tis convenient that Place and the Altars there be sanctify'd, wash'd and prepar'd with prayers. Santify's that is to say, separated from all profane Uses and dedicated to the end before rehaers'd.[7]

The puritan ideology during the reign of Edward VI (r. 1547–1553) resulted in the sacrilege of all material aspects of religion, including church buildings. The church consecration itself, however, was not officially attacked. At most, the royal injunctions rejected the excessive cost of consecration services, issuing a visitation article on the matter,

> whether they do take excessive sums of money for consecrating again either of the churchyards, or of any other ornaments for the use of altars or of bells where is no need of consecration, but is superstitious and lucrative.[8]

In response to the profanations of Edward's reign, the necessity of consecration was addressed repeatedly in cardinal Pole's *Decree Concerning the Visitation of the Churches* of 1556, issued during the reign of Mary I (r. 1553–1558).[9] Abolishing Mary's canons, Elizabeth I partially re-instated those of Henry VIII and revised them several times. The canons of Henry VIII and those of James I (1603) did again not mention the consecration of churches.[10] Finally, on 11 December 1640 at the eve of the Civil War, *The Root and Branch Petition* was presented to the House of Commons. Besides a transfer of Episcopal jurisdiction to Parliamentary Commissioners, the petitioners also enclosed a paragraph on church consecration. 'The Christening and consecrating of churches and chapels' was considered as one of the 'manifold evils, pressures and grievances caused, practiced, and occasioned by the Prelates and their dependents'.[11] However, this petition did not obtain the final sanction of the House of Commons. The consecration was thus left to the Bishop's discretion, and such it remained in Richard Burn's *Ecclesiastical Law* of 1760.

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[7] Cobb C. (ed.), *The Rationale of Ceremonial 1540–1543: with Notes and Appendices and An Essay on the Regulation of Ceremonial During the Reign of King Henry VIII* (London: 1910) 4.

[8] Edward VI, "Royal Injunctions of Edward VI, 1547", in Bray G. (ed.), *The Anglican Canons 1529–1947* (Woodbridge: 1998) 104.

[9] Pole, "The Legatine Constitutions, 1556", in Bray, *The Anglican Canons* 131.

[10] The canons of 1603 remained valid until 1969. The canons of King Charles I (1640) were made obsolete in 1669 and King William III also adopted the 1603 canons. Notwithstanding several earlier attempts, they were only revised in 1865; see Bray, *The Anglican Canons* lxi, lxxviii.

[11] Gardiner S., *The Constitutional Documents of the Puritan Revolution 1625–1660* (Oxford: 1979) 138, 139.

Liturgical Documents

The Book of Common Prayer and the Book of Homilies are the two most important liturgical handbooks of the reformed Church of England. The Book of Common Prayer, published for the first time under Edward VI in 1549, discussed the liturgical feasts of the Church of England. Addressing the consecration of bishops, the book did not mention the consecration of churches.

The *Book of Homilies* consisted of sermons written as models for homilies during the liturgical calendar of the Church of England. Usually attributed to the authorship of the Bishops Thomas Cramner and John Jewel, the Book of Homilies was published in two separate volumes: the first appeared during the reign of Edward VI, the second during that of Elizabeth I. While the first volume contained no texts relating to the church building or its consecration, the second Elizabethan volume included the homilies 'of the right use of the Church'; 'against the peril of idolatry' and 'for repairing and keeping clean the Church'. While not yet mentioning the act of consecrating churches, the Homilies represent the earliest official discussion on church buildings in the Church of England. The Book also initiated the themes of later sermons delivered at the consecration or opening of churches. The Homily 'of the right use of the Church', defined the church building as

> the place appointed by the useage and continuall examples expressed in the Olde Testament, as in the New, for the people of God to resort together unto, there to heare God's holy word, to call upon his holy Name.

Following the suppression of the Common Prayer Book during the protectorate (1653–1659), the churchman Anthony Sparrow published his *Rationale upon the Book of Common Prayer*, justifying the liturgy of the Church of England. In his lemma on the dedication of churches and chapels to God's service, he stated

> that the house so consecrated is to be not more used to common and profane employment, but set apart to holy and religious services, such as those are with which it is consecrated.[12]

[12] Anthony Sparrow, *A Rationale upon the Book of Common Prayer of the Church of England* (London, Blanche Pawlet: 1684) 296.

'Roman Catholic Superstitions'

As we just have seen, existing rites of consecrating churches were not abolished, nor was there a formal implementation of an authorized form of consecration of the Church of England. However, the desire of the Church of England to re-establish 'true religion' uncorrupted by superstition or 'popish usurpation' resulted in the abolishment of any aspect of religion that had not been established by God or by the Church before 'popish corruption'. Like the Continental Reformed Churches, the Church of England considered only the first six centuries of Christianity as the true Church as established by Christ and his Apostles. Rituals of medieval origin, such as the Roman Catholic rite of consecration, were to be abandoned, as they were not grounded in Scripture nor in Early Christian history. Furthermore, the exorcism of evil forces, a key component of Roman Catholic ritual, was rejected as mere idolatrous belief.

However, it would take a long time before an English consecration ritual was described and devised in legal and liturgical terms. In 1640 – the year of the promulgation of the canons of Charles I – it was suggested to compile a book for occasional services, including the coronation and the consecration of churches. This suggestion, however, never got approved.[13] The first officially established forms were those presented to Parliament in 1712 and 1715. Although they did not become law, this does not mean that there was no attention for the consecration ritual in the seventeenth century. Several services were used and two of them, namely the services of William Barlow (1610) and Lancelot Andrewes (1620), even made it into non-authorized models. The act of consecration itself became heavily debated, explained and emphasized in the sermons delivered on these very occasions.

The Consecration Ceremony

Compared to the lavish consecrations of Roman Catholic churches, the ritual acts performed during the Church of England's consecration were rather restrained. No fast or watch was observed the day before the consecration. Neither was a ritual purification of the place

[13] Bray, *The Anglican Canons* lxxv.

observed, for instance by the knocking on the church-doors or the sprinkling of salt and holy water, and the dispersion of ashes and anointing of the church walls were abolished. In his sermon for the consecration of Exeter college chapel in Oxford, John Prideaux gave an extensive outline of the history of consecration rituals. He concluded that the superstitious ceremonies of the Roman Catholic Church had corrupted the ancient manner of dedicating churches:

> But what advantages takes not satan in mans prosperity, which he hath no ground for in adversitie? [...] Which addition and multiplication, not onely of points of doctrine, but superstitious and ridiculous ceremonies; partly borrowed from the Iewes, and partly from the heathen, beganne to worke a substraction of other churches of Rome and continueth especially the devision, which now all Christians groanes under [...] plaine benedictions, expressing good intensions, come short of the aime that pompous Rome levelled at [...] They would make us beleeve that at such times, wicked spirits have beene heard to howle and complaine that they have been forcibly disposed of their Tenements; and that the Divell hath beene seene in such cases to flie from the Church or chappell [...] how blessed our case is, who so fairly are freed from them.[14]

First and foremost, the English consecration rite included the surrender of the building by its owner or founder. The petition for consecration and surrender seems to date back to antiquity and had been commonly used in Early Christianity. A letter of pope Gelasius I (r. 495–496) held that the founder or owner must surrender the building and lot before the consecration. After that, he had no more rights on it than any other Christian.[15] Sometimes, a visible token was used during the consecration ceremony in order to demonstrate the surrender of the building. At the consecration of St James Duke's Place London (1623), the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of the City delivered the keys of the building to the Bishop of London. This transaction implied that, once consecrated, the building would only be used for sacred purposes as the consequence of the building's new sacred status.

The celebration of the Eucharist and the consecratory prayer – either of the bishops own composition, or the prayers of King David, 1 *Chron.* 29:10 and of Solomon, 1 *Kings* 8:27 – were considered to be the two main components of the consecration rites of churches.

[14] John Prideaux, *A sermon preached on the fifth of October 1624 at the consecration of St. James Chappel in Exeter College* (Oxford, John Lichfield: 1624) 16–19.

[15] Wickham Legg, *English Orders for Consecrating Churches* xxii.

Exception was made at the consecration of private chapels, which were not granted the privilege of Masse.

Besides the celebration of Eucharist, the building was directly put to use by celebrating – if possible – all offices listed in the Book of Common Prayer. At the consecration of the parish church and churchyard of Fulmer (1610), a recently deceased man was buried. Bishop William Barlow also blessed the water in the baptismal font, although no child seems to have been baptized at the occasion.[16] According to Zachary Pearce, at the consecration of St Martin in the Fields (1726), this practice was not only historical, but one of the fundamental components of the authentic consecration rite. Referring to Moses and Solomon, he mentioned that

> immediately after that he had finish'd his prayer of dedication, divine service was enter'd upon, and a great and solemn sacrifice was offer'd up to God. From all which instances you may see that tho' in different Ages, there have been different Rites of Consecration, yet some Rite was always in use among those who open'd Publick Places for divine Worship; and that the performing the several Offices of divine Worship at such time, was esteem'd proper to accompany, if not to make a necessary part of a truly religious consecration.[17]

The material building was charged with a specific religious meaning and status. The status, use and meaning of the building were exemplified in the acts, prayers and biblical texts read during the consecration service.[18]

The Consecration Sermons

The consecration sermons were concerned with legal, liturgical and dogmatic aspects of the consecration. Many of them sought to offer a justification both for the consecration by word and prayer and for the abolition of the Roman Catholic ritual. In some cases, the ser-

[16] Wickham Legg, *English Orders for Consecrating Churches* xxxii, xxxiii.

[17] Zachary Pears, *A Sermon Preached at the New Parish of St Martin in the Fields, Westminster, Oct. 20 1726 Being the Day on which the Right Reverend Father in God, Edmund Lord Bishop of London, Consecrated the Said Church* (London, S. Harding: 1726) 7.

[18] Fulke Roberts, *Gods Holy House and Service According to the Primitive and Most Christian Form Thereof* (London, Tho. Cotes: 1639) 25.

mons were deliberately deployed in local controversies, or even provoked them. Reacting against William Laud's consecration service at St Katherine Cree, Dr. Stephen Denison preached that same afternoon a sermon on 'The bitterly inveighing against the setting up of pictures and image in churches as popish and heathenish'. As a consequence, the former peaceful parish became engulfed in a harsh controversy between Laudian supporters and their opponents. The Laudian Archbishop Richard Neile ordered his chaplain, John Cosin, to deliver the consecration sermon for the Puritan congregation of Leeds. That same day, another sermon was given by the Puritan Reverend Todd.[19]

Besides articulating arguments in confessional and liturgical debates, the sermons also had a commemorative function. The sermons studied here have all been published, mostly on demand of the parishioners or benefactors. In some cases, they were published as an act of gratitude to the Bishop who had consecrated the church or chapel. Summing up, the sermons emphasized the necessity of building and consecrating churches. They played a key-role in the consecration service, not only by establishing the new church building, but also by re-asserting the National Church of England.

Models

The consecration sermons demonstrate a vivid interest in biblical and histories of the Early Christian church and her practices of worship. The sermons aimed to prove the necessity of building churches, as well as consecrating them, connecting them to ideal 'prototypes' of biblical (Solomon's Temple) or early Christian origin (mostly Constantine's churches). These prototypes served to legitimize the rupture with Rome. Both text and architecture established a connection with the true origins of Christianity. The very existence of this lineage proved the legitimacy both for the act of building and that of the builders.

Similar concerns are expressed in the consecration ceremony. Legitimations for defining places of worship and for their new status are

19 Parsons E., *The Civil, Ecclesiastical, Literary, Commercial and Miscellaneous History of Leeds, Halifax, Huddersfield, Bradford, Wakefield, Dewsbury, Otley and the Manufacturing District of Yorkshire* (London: 1834) 4.

found in the dedication of the Temple and the consecration of Early Christian churches (for instance the consecration at Tyre, 315 CE). Practices described in these sources were considered as instituted by God in the Old Testament, pure and not yet corrupted by Jewish or Roman Catholic idolatrous practices during Early Christianity.

The Temple

The earliest Biblical accounts of places of worship appear in narratives on the patriarchs Abraham, Jacob and Moses. In all cases, the holy spaces originated in a theophany and consisted of three acts, namely calling upon the Lord, building an altar and making a sacrifice. These three elements were at the heart of the consecration ritual, including that of the Temple of Jerusalem.

A principal embodiment of the concept of dedication, the Temple of Jerusalem represents the very idea that God can dwell amongst men upon earth. The Temple thus expresses an architectural and ritual manifestation of sacred space.[20] Contrary to contemporary 'pagan' temples, Solomon's Temple did not house an image of God. Instead, each building campaign was followed by a *dedication*, by which God officially took possession of the place. The dedication rendered the holiness of the place visible by God's taking possession of the place in the form of a cloud, covering the Temple.

This holiness and its consequences were once more asserted in the Gospels. When entering the Temple at Passover, Christ furiously expelled all money changers out of the outward court, 'My house shall be called a house of prayer, but you are making it a den of thieves'. Quoting this verse, many preachers asserted the holiness and reverence due to a place of worship or a church. An example is found in John Prideaux's introduction of the consecration sermon for Exeter College chapel, Oxford, 1624. Referring to *Luke* 19:46, 'My House is the House of prayer', Prideaux explained how the consecration, the act by which God takes possession of the building, affects not only the building's propriety, but even more its function and perception.

> In which may it please you to observe with mee these three circumstances:

[20] Hamblin W.J. – Seely D.R., *Solomon's Temple Myth and History* (London: 2007) 7.

> 1. What God reserves to himself in the generall grant of all things to man, A House; 2. A distinctive proprietie whereby it is set apart from common use, intimated in the possessive My; 3. The principall end of this separation, by a synecdoche including all other religious duties, in that it is termed by an excellency, the House of Prayer. The first includeth a ground for Churches and Chappels; the second a warrant for Consecration; the third a direction for the chiefest use of both.[21]

However, the model of the Temple posed problems to the clergymen of the Church of England. While the English church consecration mainly consisted of prayers and the Eucharist, the Temple-dedication had consisted of ceremonies, including sacrifices, which had been abandoned in the Gospels. This concern was addressed in several consecration sermons of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Prideaux, for example in the sermon just cited, claimed that the 'popish' and 'superstitious' ceremonies were partly based on Jewish and heathen traditions. Nevertheless, Solomon's prayer still inspired many consecration prayers or sermons in the Church of England of this period. Solomon's prayer corresponded to the importance that the Church of England attached to the Word. Passages taken from 1 *Kings* 8:22–62 and Solomon's prayer, were part of the very forms of consecration presented in 1712 and 1715.

> But will God indeed dwell on the earth? Behold, the heaven and heaven of heavens cannot contain thee: how much less this house that I have built? Yet have thou respect unto the prayer of thy servant, and to his supplication. O Lord my God, to hearken unto the cry and to the prayer, which thy servant prayeth before thee today: that their eyes may be open toward this house night and day, even toward the place of which thou hast said, 'My name shall be there': that thou mayest hearken unto the prayer which thy servant shall make towards this place. And hearken thou to the supplication of thy servant, and of thy people Israel, when they shall pray towards this place: and hear thou in heaven thy dwelling place: and when thou hearest, forgive.[22]

The emphasis on both the divine transcendence and on the Temple as house of prayer was crucial to the Church of England to justify the appropriation of the Temple as a lawful model. The Temple had been based on a celestial prototype, an idea that lived on in the consecration

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[21] Prideaux, *A Sermon Preached on the Fifth of October 1624* 16–19.

[22] "12 *Kings* 8:27–30", in Norton D. (ed.), *The New Cambridge Paragraph Bible, with the Apocrypha, King James Version* (Cambridge: 2005) 435.

sermons. Solomon's dedication prayer had defined the place of worship and God's special presence along the lines of the Church of England as a universal, evangelical and spiritual Church. In more generic terms, the sermons put a strong emphasis on the Temple as *House of Prayer*, in accordance with the emphasis on prayer and preaching in the English liturgy.

Early Christianity

While the Israelite Covenant, the Temple, and Solomon's dedication set illuminating examples for the establishment of the Church of England's worship, their origins in the Old Testament remained problematic. Neither did they offer solutions to liturgical issues, such as the form, function and status of the church building or the consecration ritual. Early Christianity offered a way out.

Although most of the English church histories were published after 1630, there had been a vivid interest in church history all along, as it has been documented in a broad range of religious texts, among them sermons written for church consecrations or re-openings. The biography of the first Christian emperor Constantine offered a particularly useful alternative for both the superstitious Roman Catholic consecration ritual and the anti-clerical factions within the Church of England. In his *De Vita Constantini*, the church historian Eusebius offered several accounts of consecrations of churches, which all had been performed by the bishop in presence of the nobility and higher clergy.

> But for the practice of Christians, it is evident that they were no sooner freed from the tyranny of persecution in the time of Constantine, but they observ'd dedications with the greatest solemnities and the most magnificent entertainments call'd therefore [...] dedication feasts, celebrated with a great concourse of prelates and people from all parts and solemnized with publick prayers and eloquent orations.[23]

Consisting of prayers, a sermon and a communion service, the consecration services as described by Eusebius made a perfect fit with practices of the Church of England. Several sermons indeed referred to this analogy. The third part of the Robert Abbot's consecration sermon

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[23] Thomas Lewis, *Historical Essay upon the Consecration of Churches* (London, G. Strahan: 1719) 104.

delivered at Sissinhurst (1638) dealt with 'the ground of reverence to Churches. I. Dedication'. He started with an overview of different modes of consecration. Relating the practices of the clergy of the Church of England to those used by Constantine, Abbot established an appealing format for the not yet authorized consecration ceremony.

> First our churches and chapels are dedicated to God, for his holy uses and services: and what is this? When is it done? It is their setting apart to holy uses for ever. The Jewes did it by holy oyle appointed by God, as a type of Christs graces […]. The church of Rome doth it by overloading ceremonies, as oyle, salt, ashes on which they write the Alphabet in Greek and Latine […]. But wee doe it with the word of God and prayer, decent ceremonies, to hold them for Gods uses for ever. Thus Constantine having finished a goodly church, dedicated it with orations, sermons, prayers, praises, saith Eusebius.[24]

Quoted above, Pearce's sermon at St Martin in the Fields mentioned that during the consecration of the basilica of Tyre in 315, the dedication prayer had been followed by a Divine service and a solemn sacrifice. This posed a striking analogy with the Church of England's consecration, consisting of the surrender by the owner or founder; the acceptance and benediction by the Bishop; the Bishop's entrance and taking into possession in the Name of God; and finally, the start of the common service.

The Panegyric at Tyre

In 1673, Joseph Kelsey illustrated his sermon with an elaborate account of the *Encaenia* held during the consecration or encaenia of the basilica at Tyre in 315, as it had been performed by bishop Paulinus. Eusebius had been commissioned to add luster to the event with a panegyric or a praising description of the church building. In his Church History, Eusebius gave a full account of the ceremony, which was quoted by Kelsey:

> To this new Jeruzalem it was they made haste from Tyre to the Encaenia of a Magnificent Temple, where was a concourse of holy Confessors, and

[24] Abbot Robert, *The Holiness of Christian Churches or a Sermon Preached at the Consecration of the Chappell of Sr. John Baker, of Sussing-Herst in Cranbrook in Kent, Baronet, upon I Cor. 11.22*. (London, Tho.Paine for P. Stephens and C. Meredith: 1638) 16, 17.

> Bishops from all parts of the Christian World, attended by an innumerable company of every particular Nation. Some sanctified the Solemnity with devout prayers, and pious exhortations; some made Orations upon the virtues of the Emperour, extolling the sincerity of his love to Religion, and the honour he paid to Martyrs. Others composed devout meditation, from passages of Holy Scripture, to the occasion. They who were not of such attainments made their Devotions with unbloody sacrifices and mystical services, praying for the peace of the Church and Happiness of the Emperour.[25]

The consecration of the basilica of Tyre was most famous for the panegyric composed by Eusebius, which had been a novelty at the time. Contrary to what we might expect – given the importance of Eusebius as historical model for English church history – his panegyric did not become a model for texts delivered at English church consecrations.

Eusebius had based his panegyric on classical rhetorical models, such as the *laus urbis* – the praise of a city – the *periegesis* – the description based on a virtual tour pointing out places of interest and memory – and the *ekphrasis*. By the second century, the description of an architectural project had also become a means to praise the virtues or vices of a patron.[26] The *Descriptio Templi* would become popular again during Counter-Reformation of the sixteenth century.[27]

The consecration sermons, especially those composed during the reign of Queen Anne (r. 1702–1707), mainly presented the building of a new church as an act of piety. The sermons praised the religious qualities of the individual patrons or community that had commissioned the church building. Preaching at Trinity College chapel in 1694, Thomas Sykes attached great importance to the building and outfitting of churches as acts of piety. He referred to biblical examples, such as David, and to the Elizabethan Homilies. He countered the arguments of opponents who said that the money bestowed upon churches should better be given to the poor. According to Sykes, works of charity and piety were both required and complementary:

> And God forbid that I should contend for works of Piety in opposition to those of Charity, which is much too cold already: But I have shew'd, that God is to be honour'd by the first of these as well as the

[25] Joseph Kelsey, *A Sermon Preach'd at the Consecration of a Chappel in the House of John Collins, Esq. Of Chute in Wiltshire* (London, for Jonathan Edwin: 1673) 16.

[26] Smith C., "Christian Rhetoric in Eusebius' Panegyric at Tyre", *Vigiliae Christianae* 43 (1989) 226–228.

[27] Schlegelmilch U., *Descriptio Templi: Architektur und Fest in der lateinischen Dichtung des konfessionellen Zeitalters* (Munich: 2003).

> later, according to our abilities [...] and we ought to consider, that the poor are always with us, and whensoever we will we may do them good but opportunities of this kind of piety, of which I am speaking, do not always offer themselves [...] And will not the same principles of Reason and religion which prompt us to the one of these, oblige us to the other? If we look into the History of those great and illustrious persons above – mention'd [among them Constantine], that were so eminent for works of Piety, we shall find, that they were no less Charitable to the Poor, than they were zealous for the honour and glory of God. And, who are now more charitable and kind to the poor, than such pious persons? [...] For by leaving behind him a lasting monument of his Piety, he leaves also a standing motive to all the Duties and promotes all the ends of Religions as long as it shall endure.[28]

A similar idea was expressed at the consecration of the chapel of St Katherine's Hall, Cambridge, 1704. Referring to the parable of the 'good centurion', the preachers argued that the building, repairing, adorning and furnishing of churches 'is certainly a piece of Religious Piety'.

For Eusebius, however, the central aspect of his panegyric had been the allegorical interpretation of Paulinus' church. Corresponding to the congregation's levels of spirituality, the architectural design of Paulinus ultimately resulted in the heavenly church.[29] If the English sermons contained allegorical and metaphorical readings of church buildings at all, they were certainly not the most important elements. All sermons clearly separated historical and allegorical readings of holy places. While allegorical readings were confined to those found in Scripture, historical information could come either from Scripture or early Christian sources. The sermons thus were eager to establish a historical connection between the liturgies of the Early Christian Church and the Church of England.

Conclusion

At the basis of the Church of England's consecration stood the juridical conveyance of the lot and the building from the founder to the Church, and the setting apart of that specific place for religious use only. The building itself was no longer transformed from 'evil' to 'holy' by a change in ownership, but it got its full significance by being taken

[28] Thomas Sykes, *A Sermon Preached at the Consecration of Trinity-college Chappel in Oxford* (Oxford, Printed at the Theatre: 1694) 25–28.

[29] Smith, "Christian Rhetoric" 238.

into its appropriate use. The Church of England's consecration seems thus to have been a moral issue rather than a ritual one. The church was sanctified for the worship of God and the use of the community for the salvation of the soul. Hence the importance given to appropriate historical models, instead of a formal ritual.

The references to the consecration of the Temple of Jerusalem were not exclusively English. In numerous consecration rites, new churches were presented as the Temple of Solomon. Specific to the English context is the endeavor to see the dedication of the Temple as a proof for the lawfulness and necessity of the action, while the dedication itself is disconnected from all its ritual – superstitious – components. Solomon's speech is crucial for this development, and the Word would remain an important aspect of the consecration service of the Church of England.

Since the Temple service belonged to a past with an imperfect religious condition, a direct lineage with Early Christianity, 'free from Roman Catholic superstitions' was required as well. Early Christian references in consecration sermons justified the rupture with Rome, establishing a direct lineage with the Church of England and playing a crucial role in strengthening the National Church. Early Christian austerity set an example for the Church of England: '[…] and we may plainly perceive the farther we have departed from their simplicity, the more we have lost their primitive purity and holiness'.[30]

The consecration ceremonies thus established a direct connection between the True Church and her lawful heir, of which the consecrated church building served as a visible token.

[30] Sykes, *A Sermon Preached at the Consecration of Trinity-college* 6.

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RITUAL AND ITS NEGATION. 'DEDICATIO ECCLESIAE' AND THE REFORMED FIRST SERMON

Almut Pollmer-Schmidt and Bernward Schmidt*

During the Austrian War of Succession, the Brabant city Bergen op Zoom, strategically situated on the border of the Dutch Republic and the Habsburg Netherlands, had been temporally besieged and occupied by the French. In 1747, de *Grote Kerk* was shelled and destroyed – and then partially rebuilt, financed by the city's magistrate and the local Protestant congregation. On 15 October 1752, Johannes Janssen ascended the pulpit of the rebuilt *Grote Kerk* for the first time after more than five years. Before Janssen started his sermon on *Ezra* 6:14–17 (on the rededication of the Temple), he introduced the proceeding prayer with programmatic words about how the current service should be interpreted. The day of dedication ('inwyinge') of the rebuilt Bergen op Zoom church was meant to hallow the building through prayer and Word, to 'sanctify' it for Divine service ('tot zynen dienst aftezonderen'), and to honour and thank God. Janssen's exegesis of the Old Testament text expresses his ideas about dedication. In his sermon's second part, the interpretation or 'toepassing', the preacher drew parallels between the history of the Jews and present-day Bergen op Zoom. Since the Jews – not only priests and Levites, but all the children of Israel – had dedicated their temple, they, the Reformed, should do so as well. The dedication, however, needed to be celebrated in the 'Christian way' ('op een Christelyke wyze'), and not in the Jewish, Pagan, or Catholic way. So, as to underscore the 'non-Christian' ways, Janssen added a footnote to the sermon's printed version, which elaborated on the several dedication rituals. The paragraph concerning Catholic ritual is the longest: 'The Romans dedicate their churches with all kinds of ludicrous gestures and acts.'[1] Using the *Pontificale*

* We are especially grateful to the editors for their helpful comments as well as to Sabine Schratz (Dublin) for amending the English.

[1] Johannes Janssen, *De Kerk van Bergen op den Zoom herstelt, en ingewyd, Ter Navolginge der Inwyinge van Jerusalems yverig volbragten Tempelbouw en met Offerhande, ofte Leerreede, Gedaan ter Inwyinge der Kerk van Bergen op den Zoom op den 15 October*

Romanum in a Venetian edition of 1561, Janssen showed that he was well-informed of every step in Roman ritual. Having mentioned the wooden cross standing at the place of the future altar and the laying of the first stone, he described the procedure:

> As soon as the church is completed, the help of a bishop is required who, having fasted the day before, takes the remains or relics of the Saints, put them into a casket together with three grains of incense and a piece of parchment on which is written whose relics these are and in whose honour the church has been built: for this, he grants the first year one total year of indulgence, and subsequently an indulgence of 40 days yearly. Ensuing, he makes twelve crosses on the walls of the church and goes outside. Only a deacon stays within the church while he [the bishop] goes around the church several times sprinkling it from outside. Finally he knocks on the church's door with his crook saying or singing: 'Open the gates, you everlasting doors, and the King of glory shall come in'; hereupon the deacon answers from inside: 'Who is this King of glory?' After this has been done three times, the doors will be opened for him. While entering he says: 'Peace be to this house'. Then ash will be dusted into the church in the form of a cross, and he with his bishop's crozier writes on the one side the Greek and on the other the Latin alphabet. After that, he puts ash and wine into the holy water, makes several crosses, and, in the end, dedicates the altar by walking seven times around it and, after having it anointed and incensed, he puts into it the casket with the relics. After that, he consecrates and anoints the church and at the very end the churchyard. Everything happens during the saying of miscellaneous little prayers and the singing of hymns with a lot of bizarre movements and quirks.[2]

1752. Over Esra VI: 14–17. (Bergen op Zoom – Rotterdam, Hendrik Maronier: 1753) 45 (footnote): 'De Roomsgezinden wyden hunne Kerken in met allerlei belachelyke gebaarden en daden'.

[2] Janssen, *De Kerk* 45–46 (footnote): 'Als de Kerk voltooit is, dan word 'er de hulpe des Bisschops geëist, om de Kerk intewyën; die des daags te vooren gevast hebbende, neemt de overblyfzelen of Reliquien der Heiligen, doetze in een kasje met drie korrels wierook, en een stuk pergament, waarop geschreven staat, wiens Reliquien het zyn, en tot wiens eere de Kerk gebouwt is: verleent daar op voor het eerste jaar een vol jaar Aflaat, en vervolgens jaarlyks eenen aflaat van 40 dagen. Daarop maakt hy 12 kruissen aan de wanden van de Kerk, en gaat uit dezelve; blyvende alleen een Diacon in de Kerk, wanneer hy ondertusschen verscheidemaal rondom de Kerk gaat, dezelve besproeiende van buiten; eindelyk klopt hy met zynen Bisschops Staf aan de Kerkdeure, zeggende of zingende, doet open de poorten, gy eeuwige deuren, dat de Koning der eeren inga; waarop de Diacon van binnen antwoord, wie is de Koning der eeren? Dit ten derdemaal gedaan zynde, word hem de deur geopent, wanneer hy dezelve ingaande zegt, vrede zy dezen huize: dan word 'er asch in de Kerke gestrooit in de gedaante van een Kruis, waarin hy met zynen Bisschops staf aan de eene zyde schryft het Griekse, en aan de andere het Latynse A.B.C. Waarna hy assche en wyn in 't wywater doet, verscheidene Kruissen maakt; ten laatsten den Altaar wyd, gaande

It might not surprise that the Reformed preacher ridiculed the acts of the Roman dedication as ludicrous ('belachelyk') and called the movements of the celebrating bishop bizarre ('zeldzaam'). What does amaze us is that Janssen felt the need to refer to the Roman ritual so extensively.

By the middle of the eighteenth century, the city of Bergen op Zoom was no longer a Protestant city. It was still as loyal to the States General as it had been in the Eighty-Years-War, but, unlike a century earlier, the majority of the population now adhered to Catholicism. This situation was the result of the Catholic community's continuous efforts to reconvert people, the proximity to the Catholic Southern Netherlands, and the influence of neighbouring towns and villages that had remained faithful to the old religion all along.[3] For all these reasons, the rebuilding of the former church of St Gertrude, which the Reformed had been using since 1580, had a confessional and political significance that went beyond the borders of Bergen op Zoom.[4] It was certainly not by chance that, included in a nice little book with dedicatory poems and a history of the city's recent destruction, Janssen's first sermon was printed at least three times both in Bergen op Zoom and in Rotterdam.[5] By means of the printing press, the first service in the rebuilt *Grote Kerk* had been made permanent, presented as a unified and unifying event in the city's history. In his preface, Janssen explained that in his sermon he chose not to divide between believers and non-believers – as he was used to! –, but only to thank and bless.[6] Despite the rhetoric,

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zevenmaal rondom denzelven, en dien gezalft, en bewierookt hebbende, doet hy het Kasjen met de Reliquien daarin; maar na hy de Kerk wyd, en zalft, en ten laatsten het Kerkhof. Dit alles onder het opzeggen van verscheidene Gebedekens, en het zingen van Gezangen, met veele zeldzaame beweegingen en grillen.'

[3] See Mooij C.C.M. de, *Geloof kan Bergen verzetten. Reformatie en katholieke herleving te Bergen op Zoom 1577–1795* (Hilversum: 1998) 131–148, on rivalry and interdenominational contacts 569–660; in addition, for the eighteenth century, see Idem, *Over Aristocraten, Keezen en Preekstoel Klimmers; voorgeschiedenis en totstandbrenging van de omwenteling van 1795 te Bergen op Zoom*, Bijdragen tot de geschiedenis van het zuiden van Nederland LII (Tilburg: 1981) 23–34.

[4] On the history of the church see Peeters C.J.A.C. "Bijdragen tot de geschiedenis van de Sint-Gertrudiskerk", *Bergen op Zoom gebouwd en beschouwd. Studies over stad en stadsbeeld uitgegeven ter gelegenheid van het zevenhonderdjarig bestaan van de heerlijkheid van Stad en Land van Bergen op Zoom* (Alphen aan den Rijn: 1987) 135–213, esp. 182–189.

[5] The first edition was already published within the same year 1752, the second and third in 1753.

[6] Janssen, *De Kerk*, "Voorreden aan den Lezer", non-paginated (2).

we cannot overlook the obvious gap between pretension and reality: this first sermon was the very ritual with which the Protestant minority of Bergen op Zoom reclaimed the central place of privileged, public religion in town, while also demonstrating their political dominance, both to themselves and the larger community.[7] At the same time, the proclamation and celebration of the 'proper use' of the rebuilt church confirmed the legal status of the Reformed community.[8] The critical situation of the frontier city continuously required the demarcation of their position against the denominational contender. Janssen therefore used the description of the Roman ritual as a negative foil, a background against which the simplicity of the correct – that is: Reformed – practice would shine more brilliantly.

Rituals are, one might say, the tools of religion, needed to standardise religious practices on the one hand and to make perceptible the core of its message on the other. We propose a wide definition of the concept ritual, which not only includes 'all kinds of gestures and acts' – to quote Janssen – but also the spoken word. Indeed, the gathering for a sermon and the act of preaching itself can be described in terms of ritual. As printed sermons like Janssen's reveal, the Dutch Reformed did consider the first sermon held in a newly built or, in this case, restored church as a highly charged moment, even if the liturgical order might not have differed from other services.

Proceeding from the premise that every ritual results in a change of status of the person or matter concerned,[9] we consider both the

[7] On Reformation, denominational plurality and the privileged legal and social position of the Reformed in the Dutch Republic see Woltjer J.J., "De plaats van de calvinisten in de Nederlandse samenleving", *De zeventiende eeuw* 10 (1994) 16–19; Frijhoff W. – Spies M., *1650. Bevochten eendracht*, *Nederlandse Cultuur in Europese Context* 1, 2nd edition (The Hague: 2000) 351–432; Pollmann J., "The Low Countries", in Ryrie A. (ed.), *Palgrave Advances in the European Reformation* (New York: 2006) 80–101.

[8] On the contest for the church space in the Dutch Republic cf. Pollmann J., "The Cleansing of the Temple. Church Space and Its Meanings in the Dutch Republic", in Paiva J.P. (ed.), *Religious Ceremonials and Images: Power and Social Meaning (1400–1750)* (Coimbra: 2002) 177–189; Idem, "Burying the Dead; Relieving the Past. Ritual, Resentment and Sacred Space in the Dutch Republic", in Kaplan B. (eds.), *Catholic Communities in Protestant States. Britain and the Netherlands c.1570–1720* (Manchester – New York: 2009) 84–102. For the 'virtual' battle through images, see Pollmer-Schmidt A., *Kirchenbilder. Der Kirchenraum in der holländischen Malerei um 1650*, unpubl. Ph.D. (Leiden: 2011) chapters 4, 5 and 7.

[9] Cf. Paiva J.P., "Introduction", in Paiva J.P. (ed.), *Religious Ceremonials and Images. Power and Social Meaning (1400–1750)* (Coimbra: 2002) 4; Stollberg-Rilinger B.,

Catholic *dedicatio ecclesiae* and the Reformed *inwyinge* as acts of definition: They defined, or better, 'produced' sacred space by separating it from the space of everyday life.[10] In this respect, Janssen's explanation of the first service – it *happens* to hallow and sanctify the building – did not differ from any Catholic dedication ceremony.

To corroborate this thesis, we take two steps. At first, our attention turns to the ritual against which the Reformed felt the need to demarcate their position, the Roman *dedicatio ecclesiae*. By which words and deeds is space believed to become sacred? Then, the second part is dedicated to the Reformed argumentation and practice, in so far as we are able to reconstruct it out of sermons published in the Dutch Republic. Although very few early modern sermons have been preserved, they document a practice common to the entire country – from the Brabant borders and Holland to the rural region far north. as we will see below.[11] What does the practice of the first sermon tell about the Reformed perception of their 'house for the Word'?[12]

The Ritual: 'Dedicatio Ecclesiae'

The Catholic rite of church dedication counts among the most ancient and most complicated ones in the history of liturgy.[13] Its origins can be traced back to the Early Middle Ages both to the sacramentaries of

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"Symbolische Kommunikation in der Vormoderne. Begriffe – Forschungsperspektiven – Thesen", *Zeitschrift für Historische Forschung* 31 (2004) 489–527.

[10] We use the term 'production' independently from Henri Lefebvre, but without rejecting his concept entirely for our purpose: cf. Lefebvre H., *La production de l'espace* (Paris: 1974).

[11] Without pretending to be exhaustive, our research is based on four sermons published on the occasion of the dedication of a new building and seven published in relation to rebuilding, reconstruction, or reclaim. A special category of printed sermons in the eighteenth century is related to the inauguration of new organs. It exceeds the possibilities of this article to compare dedication sermons of religious minorities in the Republic, such as Mennonites or Lutherans. Interestingly enough, as soon as Catholics were again allowed to build public churches in the beginning of the nineteenth century, Catholic first sermons were published, too. In their tone and configuration, they did not differ much from Protestant published sermons of the period.

[12] Cf. Swigchem C.A. van, *Een huis voor het Woord. Het protestantse kerkinterieur in Nederland tot 1900* (The Hague: 1984); for the actual Reformed church interior see also Spicer A., *Calvinist Churches in Early Modern Europe* (Manchester – New York: 2007) 106–165; Mochizuki M.M., *The Netherlandish Image After Iconoclasm, 1566–1672. Material Religion in the Dutch Golden Age* (Aldershot: 2008).

[13] For the development of the rite, see Repsher B., *The Rite of Church Dedication in the Early Medieval Era* (Lewiston: 1998); Forneck T.-C., *Die Feier der Dedicatio Ecclesiae im Römischen Ritus* (Aachen: 1999).

the Gelasian and Gregorian tradition and to the *Pontificale Romano-Germanicum* compiled around 960.[14] Especially in the Roman tradition, the rite of church dedication was developed further during the eleventh and twelfth centuries and codified in the *Pontificale* of Guillaume Durand, Bishop of Mende (ca. 1295). Durand's *Pontificale* served as a model during the process of revision and standardization after the Council of Trent (1545–1563); his rite of church dedication was adopted without any great changes, as is clear from the *Pontificale Romanum* published in 1596 by Pope Clement VIII (1590–1605). This is not just a matter of blunt copying.[15] Rather, it is to be considered as a consciuous policy of confessionalization, since 'liturgical confessionalization' means holding on to the liturgical tradition, while emphasizing its difference from the Protestant innovators (*novatores*).[16] Recent research has described the process of confessionalization in terms of 'institutionalization' as learning of certain patterns of behaviour and understanding.[17] The liturgical books of the Tridentine Reform intended to substantiate the eternal truth of the Roman Catholic Church as expressed by its ancient rites. Besides aligning the ceremonial action, they offered also certain interpretations of the liturgical event by prescribing fixed texts and chants. This way, every participant was assigned a particular role and – as far as he was capable of understanding the Latin words – was invited to connect all he saw and heard to his belief.

As has been said, the aim of every Catholic church dedication was (and is) to create sacred space and to distinguish it from the space of everyday life. By means of the ritual, the building became God's palace, 'temple of God's new people', an image of the eschatological Jeru-

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[14] See Folsom C., "The Liturgical Books of the Roman Rite", in Chupungco A.J. (ed.), *Handbook for Liturgical Studies, vol. I: Introduction to the Liturgy* (Collegeville: 1997) 248–254, 297–299.

[15] *Pontificale Romanum. Editio princeps (1595–1596)*, ed. M. Sodi – A.M. Traccia (Vatican City: 1997). Earlier versions were edited by Paul III and Pius IV, in 1543 and 1561. Cf. Folsom, "Liturgical Books" 300.

[16] This may be particularly evident from the insertion of the medieval *praefatio* "Adesto precibus nostris".

[17] See Brademann J., "Konfessionalisierung als Institutionalisierung. Theoretisch-empirische Überlegungen zur kulturgeschichtlichen Erweiterung eines Forschungsparadigmas", *Archiv für Kulturgeschichte* 92 (2010) 425–460. The concept of confessionalization, fundamentally developed by Wolfgang Reinhard and Heinz Schilling, is recently discussed in Ehrenpreis S. – Lotz-Heumann U., *Reformation und konfessionelles Zeitalter*, 2nd edition (Darmstadt: 2008) 62–89.

salem and the place where the faithful could find salvation.[18] The ritual sanctification began with the laying of the foundation stone for the new building. The rite presented in the *Pontificale Romanum* shows *in nuce* both elements mentioned above: ritual action and interpretation.[19] Before the foundation stone was sprinkled with holy water and sunk into the ground, the bishop read four *orationes* that referred to David and Solomon as founders of the Jerusalem temple and to Jesus Christ as the foundations and cornerstone of God's temple, the church. Having deposited the foundation stone, the bishop walked round the line marking the foundations of the new church, sprinkling it with holy water. Doing so, he drew a line between the sacred place of the future church building and the profane outside world; the sacred place offered direct access to heaven, as the allusions to Jacob's vision in Bet-El showed (cf. *Gen*. 28:12–19). But besides changing the status of a place, the ritual also celebrated the foundations of the Christian community – at a first stage with the laying of the foundation stone, at a second one at the dedication itself.[20]

Before celebrating this liturgical sequence, the bishop and the assembly prepared themselves by praying the seven psalms of penitence and being sprinkled with holy water – a reminder on everyone's baptism and a constitution of the actual holy assembly.[21] The first performative act of the dedication consisted of a procession outside the building: Sprinkling the walls with holy water, the bishop *cum omni clero et populo* walked three times round the building. Every time he passed the portal, he recited an oration, while participating in a dialogue quoting *Psalm* 24. The bishop: 'Lift up your heads, O ye gates; and be ye lift up, ye everlasting doors; and the King of glory shall come in'. A deacon (locked within the church): 'Who is the King of glory?' And the bishop: 'The Lord of hosts, he is the King of glory'.

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[18] Cf. Trudu F., *Immagini simboliche dell'ecclesia nel rito di dedicazione della Chiesa* (Rome: 2001).

[19] Cf. Iogna-Prat D., "Aux fondements de l'Eglise: naissance et développements du rituel de pose de la première pierre dans l'Occident latin (v. 960–1300)", in Stammberger R.M.W. – Sticher C. (eds.), *"Das Haus Gottes, das seid ihr selbst". Mittelalterliches und barockes Kirchenverständnis im Spiegel der Kirchweihe* (Berlin: 2006) 87–111.

[20] Cf. Iogna-Prat, "Fondements" 105.

[21] For the rite of church dedication after the Council of Trent: Wünsche P., "'Quomodo ecclesia debeat dedicari'. Zur Feiergestalt der westlichen Kirchweihliturgie vom Frühmittelalter bis zum nachtridentinischen *Pontificale Romanum* von 1596", in Stammberger – Sticher (eds.), *Das Haus Gottes* 124–141.

In three *orationes*, the bishop implored God to assist the action, to preserve the unity of the Church and to act through his servants. After the third dialogue, the bishop drew a sign of the cross on the threshold and entered the church, being followed only by the clergy, the choir and two bricklayers.[22] The following large part of the dedication was thus not performed in public. We could entitle it 'God takes possession of the building which is sanctified by his presence'. The texts of this part repeatedly implored God's presence and support of the action. Two performances are to be emphasized in this context: First, a diagonal cross was extended all over the floor, on the branches of which the bishop wrote the Greek and the Latin alphabets. This has been the object of manifold interpretations. In the early eighteenth century, it was explained with clear catechetical intentions: the alphabet symbolised the word of God and Christ's doctrine, which the Christians should accept in humility.[23] But if we consider the antiquity of the rite as well as its position in the liturgy of dedication, we might interpret the rite as well as a proclamation of God's power, for His Word organises the world and banishes the devil and his demons.[24] Second, the entire building was sprinkled with 'St Gregory's water', that consisted of four elements: water symbolised the cleansing of all diabolical influence, salt the gifts of God, ashes the humble sinner and wine the abundance of God's blessing. When this mixture was used for making the sign of the cross on the portal and on the altar and for sprinkling the altar and the whole building, all these ideas were present and effective. In the concomitant prayer, the bishop asked God to fill

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[22] The cross should be interpreted as an apotropaic sign, as the bishop says "Ecce crucis signum, fugiant phantasmata cuncta". Cf. Jäggi C., "Die Kirche als heiliger Raum: Zur Geschichte einer Paradoxons", in Hamm B. (eds.), *Sakralität zwischen Antike und Neuzeit* (Stuttgart: 2007) 86.

[23] Cf. Anton-Gregor Rippel, *Alterthumb, Ursprung und Bedeutung Aller Ceremonien, Gebräuchen und Gewohnheiten der Heil. Catholischen Kirchen* (Augsburg, Wagner and Bartel: 1737) 464. Bernard Picard considered this rite a mixture of Jewish and pagan elements and wondered 'que le Christianisme, dont les principes sont extrémement simples, ait bien voulu se charger d'un attirail si onereux, et si difficile, que ceux même qui sont obligés de le soutenir ne peuvent s'en tirer qu'avec une peine infinie. On croit sans difficulté qu'il coute plus d'aprendre ces choses que d'aprendre la Religion'. Bernard Picard, *Cérémonies et coutumes religieuses de tous les peuples du monde*, 2 vols. (Amsterdam, Jean-Frédéric Bernard: 1723) vol. I, 131.

[24] We refer to God's first word in the creation and his final word, which is Jesus Christ. Cf. Schreiner K., "Abecedarium. Die Symbolik des Alphabets in der Liturgie der mittelalterlichen und frühneuzeitlichen Kirchweihe", in Stammberger – Stichler (eds.), *Das Haus Gottes* 155–157.

the building with the Holy Spirit, so that the sacrifice of praise may be brought, prayers may be heard and the faithful may be steadfast in the Catholic belief.[25] Some residue of the mixed water would be used later to prepare mortar for the tomb of the relics in the altar, and was therefore kept apart.

Now that the building had been prepared, the relics to be 'buried' in the altar were brought in a solemn procession into the new church, which now became an image of God's heavenly house with the faithful as 'fellow citizens with the Saints, and of the household of God'.[26] Before the procession entered the church, the bishop delivered a speech about the meaning of the dedication and admonishing his audience to take care of the building. Mentioning both the examples of the Jewish temple and the early Christian churches in the exemplary speech, the *Pontificale Romanum* stressed the sacredness of the church building:

> They held them in highest honour and wanted them to be untouched by the people's noise and business; that the house of prayer should not accommodate any other business or use.

Then finally, the entire assembly entered the building during the chant 'Ingredimini sancti Dei', making clear the importance of the presence of the community for the sacred character of the church, as the holiness of both space and the faithful were inseparably connected. Now, the liturgy of dedication concentrated on the altar as the central and holiest element in the building. In the middle of the altar the relics were to be buried during a complicated rite that consisted of unctions, the burning of incense and prayers. Then, the bishop anointed the walls of the church at twelve points marked by crosses. According to the prayers said during the unction, its aim was the sanctification of the building,[27] but in the tradition the crosses signified the apostles.[28] The sacredness of the altar established by the dedication now emanated into the entire building.[29] Celebrating the Eucharist at the conclusion of the church dedication revealed the full meaning of the building as constituted by this complex of rites. We may summarise it the following way: God has taken possession of the building during the non-public rites; the

[25] *Pontificale Romanum* 340: 'in fide Catholica perseverant'.
[26] *Eph*. 2:19; cf. *John* 14:2.
[27] *Pontificale Romanum* 251: 'Sanctificetur et consecretur hoc templum [...]'.
[28] Cf. Jacobus de Voragine, *Legenda aurea*, ed. T. Graesse (Osnabrück: 1965) 853.
[29] The sacredness of the altar is proven anew in each celebration of the Eucharist.

building was then transformed into his temple and residence with the dedication of the altar and the entrance of living and deceased saints. When celebrating the Eucharist, the two dimensions of the church – both earthly community and continuous communication with God – became manifest. Dedicating a new-built church meant thus both the inclusion of the building into the sacred sphere founded before, and also the proclamation and celebration of the essential characteristics of the Church as holy community. However, the sacredness of the space did not depend on an actual celebration. The Catholic rite of church dedication aimed at constituting a sacred space that was guaranteed permanently by God himself and could not be established by men.

The Non-ritual: The Reformed First Sermon

The Reformation fundamentally questioned the necessity for a Christian community to gather in sacred spaces and consequently, the necessity of a dedication ritual. Nonetheless, already in the sixteenth century, Lutherans must have developed their own idea of sacredness and consequently celebrated church dedications as a civic festivity demonstrating the unity between religious and political spheres.[30] Its Reformed equivalent was the first sermon, a programmatic oration on the status and aim of the new, or, as in Bergen op Zoom, rebuilt church. In a solid Reformed community like Basel, a 'Kirch-weyh'-service took place in a renewed church building as early as 1620, and similar services are known from Hungary.[31]

[30] Cf. Isaiasz V., "'Architectura sacra': Feier und Semantik städtischer Kirchweihen im Luthertum des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts", in Isaiasz V. (eds.), *Stadt und Religion in der frühen Neuzeit* (Frankfurt/Main: 2007) 125–146; Dürr R., "Zur politischen Kultur im lutherischen Kirchenraum. Dimensionen eines ambivalenten Sakralitätskonzeptes", in Dürr R. – Schwerhoff G. (eds.), *Kirchen, Märkte und Tavernen. Erfahrungs- und Handlungsräume in der Frühen Neuzeit*, Zeitsprünge 9, 3 (Frankfurt/Main: 2005) 498–527; Wimböck G., "Kirchenraum, Bilderraum, Handlungsraum: Die Räume der Konfessionen", in Wegmann S. – Wimböck G. (eds.), *Konfessionen im Kirchenraum* (Korb: 2007) 31–54. For Anglican church dedication see Spicer A., "'God Will Have a House': Defining Sacred Space and Rites of Consecration in Early Seventeenth-Century England", in Hamilton S. – Spicer A. (eds.), *Defining the Holy. Sacred Space in Medieval and Early Modern Europe* (Aldershot: 2005) 207–230 and the article by Anne-Françoise Morel in this volume.

[31] Johann Georg Grosse, *Encaenia Christiana: Das ist, Form und Gstalt Christlicher Kirch-weyh: Wie dieselbige den 19. Wintermonats, im Jahr Christi 1620. zu Basel, in der bey St. Peter, ernewerten Pfarrkirchen, gehalten* (Basel, König: 1620). For Hungary, see

In the Low Countries, however, these sermons were published only from the last quarter of the seventeenth century onwards, even when buildings primarily assigned to the service of the Reformed church were built as soon as a city was enlarged. This does not mean that until then the privileged religion of Dutch society did not celebrate the occasion of *inwyinge* at all. The sermon of Hendrikus Hermannius on the dedication of the Reformed church in the new peat-cutters' colony Veendam near Groningen was printed more than a century after it had been delivered. In 1772, one of his successors edited the sermon, together with the complementary sermon on occasion of the dedication of the pulpit.[32]

Another indication for the great value of this first programmatic moment is the celebration of centenaries. In Maassluis near Rotterdam, the new church with the famous ground plan of a Greek cross has been completed in 1639. A hundred years later, two little booklets were printed to commemorate the church's dedication. One off them included both contemporary laudatory poems and a 'Heilwensch aan de Gemeente van Maessluys Over 't openen van haar Tweede Kerk' ('A desire for salvation of the parish of Maassluis about the opening of her second church'), written by Petrus van Staveren, the town's minister in the time of the building project.[33] The minister in 1739, Johannes Martinus Hoffmann, published the sermon he held in memory of the *inwyinge* together with historical documents, and even his successor in 1839 continued to do so.[34] Although these commemorative sermons

Murdock G., "'Pure and White'. Reformed Space for Worship in Early Seventeenth-Century Hungary", in Hamilton – Spicer, *Defining the Holy* 231–250.

[32] Hendrikus Hermannius, *Een vyftal van Leerredenen, De twee eersten behelzen, de Inwying van Veendammer Kerk en Predikstoel*, ed. H. Janssonius (Groningen, Abraham Groenewolt: 1772). Hermannius, however, might have once published his sermons himself, as he mentions in the dedication of the second sermon to his parish that he 'had not wanted to omit to make both of them public by print' (ibidem 58).

[33] *Eeuwgezangen op de Verjaaring der Grote Kerk van Maassluis; door Jacob en Hendrik Schim, Geviert op den 9 van Wynmaent MDCCXXXIX. Hier is bygevoegt een Heilgezang op d'Inwyding derzelver Kerk, door wylen den eerwaerden Heere Petrus van Staveren* (The Hague, Frederik Boucquet: 1739); for Van Staveren's poem, ibidem 31–40.

[34] Johannes Martinus Hoffmann, *Leerrede over Jesajas Voorzegging, In het XXX[III]. Hoofdstuk, in het 20ste. Vers. Ter Eeuwgetyde van de Groote Kerk op Maassluis, Gedaan in dezelver Kerk, den IX. October MDCCXXXIX* (The Hague, Frederik Boucquet: 1740). Kuyper J.F., *Kerkelijke Feestrede* […] *ter gelegenheid van het tweehonderdjarig bestaan der Groote Kerk van de Hervormde Gemeente aldaar: Plechtig gevierd in de Maand October des Jaars 1839* (Maassluis: 1839). In 1939, no sermon was published anymore, but the Maassluis Reformed church still celebrated a centenary:

contain valuable information about the way the Reformed appreciated church space, they will not be considered for the purpose of this article, neither will be occasional poetry like van Staveren's 'Heilwensch'. Instead, we will focus on the sermons of Hermannius and Johannes Janssen, about the initiation of the proper use of a church or which declare its repossession after destruction.

The oldest *inwyinge*-sermon handed down to us was written by the above-mentioned Hendrikus Hermannius. He had lived in Pernambuco for nine years until the forfeiture of Dutch Brazil in 1654, moved then to Groningen and was called to Veendam.[35] As the first to write down the name of the new colony, he was also responsible for establishing its basic parochial structure, and perhaps its social structure, too. While it is likely that most inhabitants were migrant workers from diverse backgrounds and denominations, by far the most prominent building of the new town was the single-nave Reformed church, initiated in 1660. In other words, the Reformed church was the marshalling institution concerning morals and religion in the newly founded town.

Following this, Hermannius' argumentation may serve as an example of both vintage and average Reformed theology concerning church space at the time. On 5 October 1662, the day of *inwying* of the settlement's first church, Hermannius had to meet two premises that seem contrary: He started by remembering that since *sub gratia*, after Christ, the 'public worship is not bound to any (built) church,' it is allowed to celebrate wherever God pleases.[36] He himself, Hermannius recollected, had preached in a simple house and before that in a barn. But, even though the church formally did not need any building, the minister has to justify, explicate and construe the very reason for his sermon – the fact of dedication. He stated (freely interpreting 1 *Tim.* 4:5):

"1639 – October – 1939. De viering van het derde eeuwfeest van de Groote Kerk van de Ned. Hervormde Gemeente te Maassluis", in Mastenbroek T., *De Groote Kerk te Maassluis 1639–1939: grepen uit hare historie* (Maassluis: 1940).

[35] On Hermannius, see Blok P.J. – Molhuysen P.C., *Nieuw Nederlandsch biografisch woordenboek* (Leiden: 1911–1937) VII, 567–568. On the history of Veendam and its church, Keuning H.J., "Drie eeuwen Veendam en Veendammers 1655–1955", in *Veendam 300. Gedenkboek op opdracht van het Gemeentebestuur uitgegeven bij het 300–jaring bestaan van Veendam* (Assen: 1955) 18–73, esp. 26–31; Banga F.J., *Veendam. Parel van de Groninger Veenkoloniën* (Bedum: 1988) 46–49; Brood P. *350 Jaar Veendam en Wildervanck* (Bedum: 2005) 22, 54–58.

[36] Hermannius, *Een vyftal van Leerredenen* 9.

> When churches are opened for the first time for ordinary service, it is a custom and appropriate that they be dedicated by the Word of God and by prayer. […] We should follow this custom at present, nonetheless without superstition.[37]

Hermannius' sermon was based on an exegesis of *Exodus* 20:24, 'in all places where I record my name I will come unto thee, and I will bless thee', spoke God to Moses after having revealed the Ten Commandments. The minister used this passage to delineate the characteristics of the church as a place for worship: after Christ's death, no place was more holy than others, neither Canaan nor Jerusalem nor the temple or any altar excelled in sacredness.

Consequently, Christians were allowed to pray everywhere, but – implicitly postulating the categorical need for 'Kerken'– Hermannius said that the place of the church depended on the 'record' of God's name ('de gedachtenisse van Gods naam'). In a next step, he equated the name of God with worship and 'de gedachtenisse' with 'maintaining the service which chiefly has to happen in churches.'[38] In reference to Christ cleansing the temple, the minister explained that 'the place which God has sanctified, man must not make profane or use with any other objective than worship.'[39] Then Hermannius argued that only the Reformed community possessed the exclusive entitlement for the definition of sacred space. According to Hermannius, a church is not only the "house for the Word," during the delivery of the sermon, but also in its essence special, and even sacred, being the place for preaching and worship. In answer to the question how proper worship is to be recognised, he used arguments fundamental to Evangelical thought: The Church could be heard by the pure preaching of the Word and be seen in the right administration of the

[37] Hermannius, *Een vyftal van Leerredenen* 11: 'Wanneer de Kerken voor de eerstemaal tot den gewoonen gods-dienst geopent worden, zo is het de maniere en billyk, dat dezelve als dan door 't Woord Gods, en door het gebet ingewyet worden, 1 *Tim*. 4: 5. Gemerkt dan ook deze Kerke tot zulken einde geopent is, zullen wy ook tegenwoordig deeze manier, zonder bygeloovigheid nogtans, agtervolgen'.

[38] Hermannius, *Een vyftal van Leerredenen* 14: 'Gelyk nu door den naam Gods, hier ter plaatste, de godsdienst verstaan wordt, zo wordt door de gedachtenisse van Gods naam, hier en elders niet anders verstaan, dan het waarnemen van den gods-dienst, 't welk voornamelijk in de Kerken behoort te geschieden'.

[39] Hermannius, *Een vyftal van Leerredenen* 14: '[Christ] Toonende daarmede, dat de plaatse, die Godt geheiligt heeft, geen mensche behoort gemein te maken, noch ergens elders toe te gebruiken als tot den gods-dienst'.

Sacraments. It is God, who sanctifies, but it is by worship that his grace is effective to the place:

> Even though sacredness is not bound to any place as locality, yet a place is esteemed as sacred, when the LORD sanctifies it by his particular and gracious presence. For this reason, and concerning the particular and gracious presence of the LORD, and the practice of religion, the churches are holier than every other place.[40]

What follows are the lessons for his audience. Since churches are the houses of God, one should enter the church humbly and reverently so that he may not be enraged. One more reason to be cautious is the presence of holy angels, 'who are saddened by all immorality and inappropriateness conducted in churches.'[41] In the third place, the Reformed minister referred to Bernhard of Clairvaux who had argued that respectful behaviour appertained to believers as limbs of Christ. Finally, a Christian should care for his inner self, since he is God's temple. Therefore he should not defile himself with 'false doctrine or an impure life'.[42] Having said this, Hermannius continued with the second part of the leading verse from Exodus, examining the four ways in which God reveals himself to the Church: through Word, the Sacraments of baptism and the Lord's Supper, through prayers of the gathered church and through alms. As Divine blessings occurred in churches, even those who do not make much work from church could profit if they attended more regularly and with the right attitude. The minister used the occasion of *inwying* to admonish his flock, first those who normally never came to church at all, second those who refrained from Supper and third those who came to church out of curiosity or custom. He appealed to them to attend from then on the Sunday afternoon-sermons on the Heidelberg catechism and gave them advice on how to behave before, during and after a service. After addressing the political authorities, Hermannius concluded by exhorting his peat-cutters' audience, 'that when you folks are cutting the first

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[40] Hermannius, *Een vyftal van Leerredenen* 24: 'Want al is het, dat aan geene plaatse als plaatse, eenige heiligheid gebonden is, zo wordt nochtans een plaatse voor heilig gerekent, wanneer ze de HEERE door zyne byzondere en genadige tegenwoordigheid, heiligt. Alzo zyn ook de Kerken, ten opzicht van de byzondere en genadige tegenwoordigheid des HEEREN, en gebruik des godsdienst, heiliger dan eenige andere plaatsen'.

[41] Hermannius, *Een vyftal van Leerredenen* 25: 'Om dat ook de H. Engelen daar in tegenwoordig zyn, die zig door alle onordentlykheid en ongeschiktheid, welke in de Kerken gepleegt worden, bedroeven'.

[42] Hermannius, *Een vyftal van Leerredenen* 27.

layer, or the final piece of peat, digging or arranging the peat pieces for drying […] do all to the glory of God.'[43]

Ritual, Non-ritual and the Definition of Space

Both Johannes Janssen in Bergen op Zoom and Hendrikus Hermannius in Veendam practised a 'non-ritual' for the (re-)dedication of their churches, distinguishing their Reformed position from the Catholic *dedicatio ecclesiae*. While the latter was a complicated sequence of Word and action, partly restricted to the bishop and the clergy, partly in public, the Reformed service resembles an ordinary Sunday service: The minister preached to his congregation assembled to listen, to pray and to sing. Nevertheless, a Reformed first sermon in the eighteenth century supposedly was celebrated in a special manner, *e.g.* with solemn organ music or chants.[44] The concepts of an initial ritual for a church building thus differed significantly. But considering the basis of both, we may also recognise a fundamental common ground. Both *dedicatio ecclesiae* and the Reformed first sermon referred to the future sacred use of the building, either explicitly addressing it in the sermon or by celebrating the Eucharist at the conclusion of the dedication ritual. But how did they agree with one another over and above that?

The Catholic rite of church dedication defined the building as sacred space by prayer and action. In several places, the liturgical texts stressed that the sacredness could not be realized by men, but by God alone, acting through the bishop. It was God who guaranteed the sacredness of his house that did not depend on the liturgical action but could be violated by criminal acts (*e.g.* murder) or partial destruction. By means of the ritual the church building obtained an indelible mark: It was handed over to God in order to be His mansion; for the Catholic assembly, it was the place for the celebration of the Sacraments, especially the Eucharist, strictly separated from the space of everyday life. In spite of this, it admonished its visitors to orientate their everyday lives to Christian ethics.

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[43] Hermannius, *Een vyftal van Leerredenen* 56: 'Het zy dan dat gy lieden staat aan den ploeg om te bonken, stikken, graven of dyk te zetten, het zy, dat gy de torf ringet of kloodt, het zy, dat gy dezelve in de schuiten kroodt of loeget, het zy, dat gy iets anders doet, doet het al ter eeren Gods'.

[44] As a liturgical instrument, the Dutch Reformed gradually more accepted the organ in the course of the eighteenth century, see Smelik J., "Liturgisches Orgelspiel", *Musik und Kirche* 72,1 (2002) 26–28.

The Reformed first sermon may be considered as a particular form of ritual reduced to the acts of preaching and listening. As we saw in Hermannius' sermon, an important function of the first sermon was to define the church building as sacred space. Naturally, Hermannius shared the common Reformed opinion that the sacredness of a church was constituted by the actual celebration of a service, the commemoration of God's name, preaching and worship. But he expressed also the wish that sacredness would endure even apart from the celebration of services, since the church building was the place where God revealed himself to the faithful by His Word, the Sacraments, prayers and alms. Consequently, he disapproved of any use of the church 'with [an]other objective than worship'.

Both Catholic *dedicatio ecclesiae* and the Reformed first sermon defined the church building as sacred space. They did so by different means and with different concepts of sacredness: while in the Catholic rite the building is constituted as God's house where he is really present with his saints, to the Reformed the sacredness of the space depends on God's revelation to the faithful and its use for service. For Hermannius, the service is the basis upon which God's enduring presence in the building is founded.[45]

The rites of dedication could be celebrated in different situations: while Hermannius held his first sermon in a newly built church, Janssen's text referred to a re-built church which was re-dedicated by the sermon. In the latter case, Catholics would have used a different and far less complicated ritual, namely that of reconciliation, aiming at the restoration of the sacred character. As Bergen op Zoom had been a battlefield of competing confessional powers, Janssen felt compelled to demarcate the Reformed confession and its (non-)ritual from the Catholic "superstition" reflected by its ritual. It might be interesting in this context to have a closer look at the history of Utrecht and its cathedral, which, during the French occupation in the years 1672 and 1673, was used alternately by Reformed and Catholics. Each

[45] Considering both concepts one might think of Cassirer's idea of 'mythical space': cf. Cassirer E., "Mythischer, ästhetischer und theoretischer Raum", in *Symbol, Technik, Sprache. Aufsätze aus den Jahren 1927–1933*, ed. E.W. Orth – J.M. Krois (Hamburg: 1985) 93–119.

denomination had to carry out its own ritual of dedication or reconciliation with enormous political implications. Three days after the French had been driven out of the city and the Catholic remains had been removed from the *Domkerk*, the Republic's most famous theologian Gisbertus Voetius held a first sermon.[46]

A more systematic approach to the study of Reformed attitudes to ritual as well as to the interior design of their church buildings and sacred spaces might also be fruitful. In the eighteenth century, the area around the pulpit became ever more emphasized by decoration and furniture.[47] The installation of permanent pews in the naves of late-medieval churches was not only meant to offer more comfort but also to separate the space designated for service from the rest of the building. The proximity to the pulpit consolidated the isolation of the 'preekkerk' from the 'wandelkerk'. Since the term for the space for promenading and other social, cultural or political activities, 'wandelkerk', appeared for the first time in the eighteenth century, it is likely that by then a hierarchy was established between sacred and profane parts within one and the same church building.[48] This raises new questions upon the perception of unity and, consequently, the relevance of the first sermon for the building as a whole – in Hermannius' terms: Did the sacredness constituted by God's revelation refer to the entire building or only to its parts used for service? While the architectural structures of newly built churches, be it the single nave in Veendam or more evidently the Greek cross in Maassluis, provide a unified space designated for preaching, the question remains for the older – and contended – major churches, such as St Gertrude's in Bergen op Zoom.

[46] Gisbertus Voetius, *Eerste Predicatie in de Dom-kercke tot Wtrecht* […] *Den 16. Novembris 1673. Gedaen Door Gisbertius Voetius,* […] *Na dat de Fransche macht de Stadt* […] *Op den 13. November* […] *Verlaten hadden* (Utrecht, Willem Clerck: 1674). The re-occupation of the cathedral for Reformed use was accompanied by poems like Arnoldus Vonckius, *Treur- en Bly-eyndt-dicht Op de Verscheyden gestaltenisse Van de Dom-Kercke tot Utrecht Binnen kortentijd voorgevallen Ao 1673* (Utrecht, Lucas Simonsz de Vries: 1673). With a focus on rites of iconoclasm: Vanhaelen A., "Utrecht's Transformations: Claiming the Dom through Representation, Iconoclasm and Ritual", *De zeventiende eeuw* 21 (2005) 354–374.

[47] Swigchem C.A. van, *Huis voor het Woord* 160–161. For the correlation of sacredness and furniture see also Grosse C., "Places of sanctification: the liturgical sacrality of Genevan Reformed churches, 1535–1566", in Coster W. – Spicer A. (eds.), *Sacred Space in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge: 2005) 60–80.

[48] Cf. Pollmer-Schmidt, *Kirchenbilder* chapter 1.2 on the relation between 'preekkerk' and 'wandelkerk'.

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IV. NEW BEGINNINGS

MIDSUMMER MODERNS: THE FOUNDATION OF THE PARIS OBSERVATORY 21 JUNE 1667

Indra Kagis McEwen

Informal meetings of learned men bent on systematising scientific knowledge had been taking place in Paris since the 1620's, with René Descartes (1596–1650) among the first to assemble colleagues for that purpose.[1] But it was only 40 years later, after Louis XIV's assumption of personal rule in 1661 ('l'état c'est moi'), that the state itself took direction of these get-togethers under the guidance of Louis' first minister, Jean-Baptiste Colbert.

The royal mandate was clear. The new association would deal exclusively with five major areas of study: mathematics, astronomy, botany, anatomy and chemistry. Moreover, it was explicitly ordained that the astronomers were on no account to apply themselves to astrology; nor were the chemists to waste time on the philosopher's stone, both pursuits being judged *très-frivoles* and *très-pernicieuses*.[2] The vehemence of their proscription is a reminder at once of the legitimacy enjoyed by both astrology and alchemy until well into the seventeenth century and of the as yet far from universal acceptance of the new rational criteria for scientific truth, based exclusively on direct observation rather than on precedent, authority, tradition or hearsay.

> Observation, […] l'action par laquelle on remarque, on observe, on fait des experiences. Les Modernes on bien enrichi sur les Anciens par leurs observations […] Dans toutes les sciences, les observations comparées servent à éclaircir les doutes, ou conduisent à de nouvelles découvertes.[3]

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[1] Bigourdan G., *Les premières sociétés savantes de Paris et les origines de l'Académie des sciences* (Paris: 1919) 2.

[2] Charles Perrault, *Mémoires de ma vie* (1700), ed. A. Picon (Paris: 1993) 141–142. See also ibidem, 239 of the same volume, for a similar, earlier account by Charles Perrault, dated 1667.

[3] Antoine Furetière, *Dictionnaire universel, contenant généralement tous les mots français, tant vieux que modernes, et les termes des sciences et des arts* (1686), 3rd edition (The Hague, P. Husson: 1727), s.v. "observation".

> Observer, […] Examiner attentivement quelquechose; en bien remarquer la nature, les mouvemens, les qualitez, ou accidens particuliers. […] On a bien observe des choses dans la nature, inconnuës aux Anciens.[4]

Upon formal establishment of the *Académie royale des sciences* in 1666, its members, especially Colbert, recognised the need for a permanent home: a new kind of building, purpose-built for the advancement of science, astronomy in particular. The two small rooms of the *Bibliothèque du roi*, on rue Vivienne near the Palais Royal where members held their bi-weekly meetings had many limitations of which the most limiting were inadequate facilities for effective astronomical observation.[5]

> Observer, se dit plus particulièrement et absolument des astres. On a observé les comètes, les satellites de Jupiter, l'anneau de Saturne, les inegalitez de la Lune plus exactement qu'on n'avait jamais fait. […] Le veritable Astronome est celui qui observe.[6]

As Charles Perrault, Colbert's assistant, tells it, the new building was not only to surpass other observatories in grandeur, beauty and convenience but, in so doing, was above all to reflect the magnificence of the prince who was having it built.[7] A site was chosen in the Faubourg St Jacques, at the southern edge of the city and the land purchased for the king in March of 1667.[8] *L'observatoire royal de Paris*, designed by Claude Perrault, Charles Perrault's elder brother, was formally founded on the day of the summer solstice of that same year.

> Observatoire. […] Lieu proper à observer les astres; bâtiment en forme de tour, élevé sur une éminence pour faire des observations d'Astronomie, et de Physique. Le Roi Louis XIV, a fait bâtir au Fauxbourg St. Jacques à Paris un Observatoire royal.[9]

The interest and importance of the Paris Observatory's foundation at the leading edge of the scientific revolution is twofold and paradoxical. On the one hand, the ritual was entirely without precedent, self-consciously modern and starkly in keeping with the rigour of Cartesian

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[4] Furetière, *Dictionnaire universel*, s.v. "observer".
[5] Perrault, *Mémoires de ma vie* 239–243. Wolf C., *Histoire de l'Observatoire de Paris de sa fondation à 1793* (Paris: 1902) chapter 1.
[6] Furetière, *Dictionnaire universel*, s.v. "observer".
[7] Perrault, *Mémoires de ma vie* 242.
[8] Wolf, *Histoire de l'Observatoire* 8.
[9] Furetière, *Dictionnaire universel*, s.v. "observatoire".

method, itself first aired in one of the earliest meetings of Parisian *savants* convened by Descartes himself; in keeping, too, with the self-conscious modernity of Claude Perrault's intention that the building itself be *tout savant*. Nevertheless, though modern and unprecedented, the foundation was still a ceremony: a ritual, if a newly invented one. The record calls it a *consécration*.[10]

On the other hand, while this foundation was clearly a significant moment in the history of modern science, it was also a significant moment in the history of the reign of Louis XIV, occurring as it did at the crest of what has been called the 'Apollonian' period of his rule: the early years from 1660 to 1678 which were focussed on his assiduous fashioning as sun king.[11] Indeed, among the many images that pointedly linked the king to the Observatory is a painting by Henri Testelin, dated 1667.[12] A tapestry cartoon, painted after a sketch by Charles Le Brun, and intended as part of the famous encomiastic tapestry cycle *L'histoire du roi*, it shows Colbert presenting academy members to Louis, enthroned before a view of the Observatory, which is dramatically revealed by the heavy folds of the drapery raised like a stage curtain behind him. Needless to say, the view is entirely imagined, for in 1667 when Testelin painted his cartoon, the building had only just been founded (if that) and its completion still lay five years ahead.[13]

It is this 'Apollonian' context that encourages understanding the Observatory – a *maison royale* like the king's various residences (though he never lived there, of course, and visited only once) – as a 'Palace of the Sun' whose clarity of purpose distilled the combined intentions of contemporaneous undertakings at the Louvre, the Tuileries and Versailles, while stripping them of all mythical trappings. Against this background, the austere impersonality of the foundation becomes a bold outline for the virtual portrait of a ruler whose greatness exceeds

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[10] *Mémoires de l'Académie royale des sciences depuis 1666 jusqu'à 1699*, 11 vols. (Paris, n.p.: 1729–1733) I, 43.

[11] Burke P., *The Fabrication of Louis XIV* (New Haven: 1992); Sabatier G., *Versailles ou la figure du roi* (Paris: 1999) 47–240; Sabatier G., "La gloire du roi: l'iconographie de Louis XIV de 1661 à 1672", *Histoire, économie et société* 19, 4 (2000) 527–560.

[12] Bajou T., *La peinture à Versailles au XVII^e^ siècle* (Paris: 1998) 112–113.

[13] The building was substantially complete in 1672 but not entirely finished until ten years later when Louis XIV made his one and only visit on 1 May 1682. Petzet M., *Claude Perrault und die Architektur des Sonnenkönigs* (Munich – Berlin: 2000) 391–397; Picon A., *Claude Perrault ou la curiosité d'un classique* (Paris: 1988) 212–217.

the power of representation.[14] And therein lies the paradox, for when the abstract power of scientific method is cast as a representation of unrepresentable greatness, the ostensible subject of that representation – the *person*, the king himself – becomes superfluous.

Foundation

The Academy of sciences was founded on 22 December 1666, at a meeting in the *Bibliothèque du roi*, where Pierre de Carcavi, the royal librarian, outlined the King's project for advancing and supporting the sciences, stipulating what was expected of the Academy in return: public utility and enhancement of the King's glory.[15] Its History does not mention that the meeting took place at the winter solstice – the shortest day of the solar year which, in marking the beginning of the sun's return was, traditionally, the moment of its rebirth – its birthday. The History would not, however, fail to note that the Observatory building's foundation six months later took place at the summer solstice, a detail invariably mentioned in all other accounts of the event.

> Mais si une espèce de pompe et de cérémonie peut être comptée pour quelque chose en ces matières, rien ne fut plus solemnel que les observations qui se firent le 21 Juin, jour du Solstice. Le Roi pour favoriser pleinement les Sciences, et particulièrement l'Astronomie, avoit résolu de faire bâtir un Observatoire, et la place en étoit déjà marquée au Faux-bourg S. Jacques. Comme ce bâtiment devoit être tout savant, et qu'il étoit principalement destiné au Observations Astronomiques on voulut qu'il fut posé sur une ligne Meridienne, et que tous ses angles répondissent à certains Alimuths. Les mathématiciens se transportèrent donc sur le lieu le 21 Juin. Ils tirèrent une Meridienne et huit Alimuths avec tout le soins que leur pouvoient inspirer des conjectures si particulières. Ils trouvèrent la hauteur méridienne du Soleil de 64° 41' au moins, ce qui donne pour la hauteur du Pole à l'Observatoire 48° 49' 30" en supposant que la vraye déclinaison du Soleil fût de 23° 30', et la réfraction à cette hauteur d'une demie minute seulement. On trouva que la déclinaison

[14] André Félibien, *Le portrait du roy* (1663), in *Recueil de descriptions de peintures et d'autres ouvrages faits pour Le Roy* (Paris, F. et P. Delaulne: 1689) 68–98. See also Marin L., *Le portrait du roi* (Paris: 1981) and Delbeke M., "Bernini and the Measure of Greatness. The Louis XIV pedestal according to La Chambre, Lemée and Bouhours", in Lehmann C. – Lloyd K. (eds.), *Der späte Bernini* (Berlin: forthcoming).

[15] *Mémoires de l'Académie royale des sciences* I, 14.

> de l'Eguille aimentée étoit de 15' à l'Occident. *Toutes ces Observations furent la consécration du lieu*. (my italics)
>
> Les fondements de l'Edifice furent aussi jettés cette année, et l'on frappa une Medaille avec ces mots Sic itur ad astra.[16]

The Academy's *procès verbaux*, or minutes, actually name the five mathematicians whose observations constituted the 'consecration' of the site and, unusually, refer to the building as the 'Uranoscope or Observatory'. But the alternative designation 'Uranoscope' (literally, 'sky-viewer') vanishes from the record and the building thereafter becomes, invariably, 'l'Observatoire'. Another participant, 'M. Couplet' appears in this account as having prepared the stone on which the meridian would be traced

> Le Mardy 21 juin 1667, jour du solstice, Messieurs Auzout, Frénicle, Picard, Buot et Richer furent dès le matin à l'Uranoscope ou à l'Observatoire, pour tracer une ligne méridienne sur une pierre que M. Couplet avait fait poser pour prendre la hauteur méridienne.[17]

The History of the Academy cited earlier was written in French by Bernard de Fontenelle, its secretary after 1697. Fontenelle's initial volumes were based on an earlier Latin history of the institution, written by the first secretary, Jean-Baptiste Duhamel. In addition to the details supplied by the foregoing two accounts (the solstice, the mathematicians, M. Couplet, the measurements, the meridian), Duhamel's version of events includes reference to two sextants that were brought to the site for making the necessary observations. He also elaborates on the foundation medal – one of several versions struck, apparently, and the one that seems actually to have been buried in the foundations of the building.[18] 'The same year', writes Duhamel,

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[16] *Mémoires de l'Académie royale des sciences* I, 43–44. 'Sic itur ad astra' ('this way leads to the stars').

[17] Académie royale des sciences, procès-verbaux, cited Wolf, *Histoire de l'Obsevatoire* 11. Claude-Antoine Couplet was a junior associate of the Academy, of which he would eventually become the treasurer.

[18] For the different versions of the medal: Wolf, *Histoire de l'Observatoire* 16–18; Petzet, *Claude Perrault* 368–369.

> the foundations of the Observatory were laid, as the medal with this inscription on it attests
>
> SIC ITUR AD ASTRA
>
> and below
>
> TURRIS SIDERUM SPECULATORIA
> ANNO MDCLXVII
>
> On the face of the medal there is an image of the future observatory, on the other side a portrait of the King, with these words *Ludovico XIV regnante et aedificante*.[19]

The laying of the foundation stone (along with several medals) of Bernini's projected new Louvre less than two years earlier in October of 1665, is amply documented, but there is no similar record for anything comparable having taken place at the Observatory.[20] Perhaps, in the case of the Observatory, the event really did pass without ceremony, with the initial 'consecration' on the summer solstice the only authentic foundation considered worth documenting.

In 1576, the laying of a cornerstone had also constituted the foundational moment of Tycho Brahe's observatory on Hven, an island in the North Sea off the coast of Denmark. When the foundation of 'Uraniborg' ('Castle of Urania', after the muse of astronomy) took place, astronomy and astrology still coexisted in apparently happy promiscuity. Thus, the ceremony on 8 August, only went ahead after careful study of the positions of the planets to ensure that the chosen date was an auspicious one. At his own request, Sir Charles de Dançay, French ambassador to Denmark, supplied the porphyry cornerstone and its inscription. Tycho himself recorded the event in his *Astronomiae instauratae mechanica* of 1598.[21]

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[19] Jean-Baptiste Duhamel, *Regiae scientiarum Academiae Historia,* 2nd ed. (Paris, J.-B. Delespine: 1701) 38: 'Eodem anno Observatorii fundamenta jacta sunt, quod testatur numismatis tum incisi inscriptio his verbis: SIC ITUR AD ASTRA et subscriptio TURRIS SIDERUM SPECULATORIA, ANNO MDCLXVII. In prima facie numismatis linearis designatio futuri observatorii, in posteriori Regis effigies insculpta, cum his verbis Ludovico XIV regnante et aedificante'.

[20] Paul Fréart de Chantelou, *Journal du voyage en France du Cavalier Bernin* (1665), reprint of the 1930 ed. (New York: 1972) 261–263; Perrault, *Mémoires de ma vie* 166–169; *Compte rendu de la cérémonie de la pose de la première pierre des nouveaux bâtiments du Louvre par Louis XIV*, ms. Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, Paris (Fonds français 6314) fol. 273r.

[21] Tycho Brahe, *Astronomiae instauratae mechanica* (Wandesburg, s.n.: 1598) 79; Thoren V.E., *The Lord of Uraniborg: a biography of Tycho Brahe* (Cambridge: 1990) 114.

> When the day approached determined for the laying of the foundation stone, the Excellent Dançay arrived, accompanied by several noblemen besides some learned men among our common friends to attend this performance, and on 8 August in the morning, when the rising sun together with Jupiter was in the heart of Leo, while the moon was in the western heavens in Aquarius, he laid this stone in the presence of all of us, having first consecrated it with wine of various kinds and praying for good fortune in every respect, in which he was joined by the surrounding friends.[22]

As already noted, what was recorded as the 'consecration' of the analogous building begun in Paris almost a century later, were the observations made, not the laying of any wine-drenched foundation stone.

A manuscript from the Observatory archives supplies further details about the two sextants brought to the site for making those observations. One belonged to the Academy, and had been used for observations in the garden of the *Bibliothèque du roi*. It had a radius of six feet, and was made of iron, except for its graduated arc, which was copper. The other belonged to Abbé Jean Picard, one of the astronomers. [23] The size of Picard's sextant is not specified, but the size and iron construction of the Academy's instrument would have made it extremely heavy, which raises questions about how it got from the *Bibliothèque du roi* in the rue Vivienne to the Observatory site on the other side of the river, in the Faubourg St Jacques.

Among the many anomalous features of this event was the extremely limited number of participants, and the apparent absence of any witnesses at all. Tycho, for all the isolation of his island site, was surrounded by friends, relations, colleagues, and dignitaries. On 21 June 1667 at the site on the edge of Paris, we can count the presence of five mathematicians, Adrien Auzout, Jacques Buot, Bernard Frénicle de Bessy, Jean Picard, and Jean Richer, along with their young associate

[22] Raeder H. – Strömgren E. – Strömgren B. (eds. and trsl.), *Tycho Brahe's Description of his Instruments and Scientific Work* as given in Astronomiae instauratae mechanica (Copenhagen: 1946) 130. The Latin on page 79 of Tycho's original publication reads as follows: 'Cum vero dies is fundationi destinatus instaret, accessit optimus ille Danzaeus, comitatus aliquot nobilibus viris, tuùm quoque quibusdam doctis ex amicis communibus, qui huic actui interessent: et die octavo Augusti maneè exoriente Sole una cum (Jupiter) juxta cor (Leo) Luna occiduum cardinem in (Aquarius) occupante, in omnium nostrum praesentia lapidum eundem locavit, litando prius solenniter vinis diversis, et fausta quaeque precando, suffragentibus iis, qui circumstabant amicis'.

[23] The information is given in the notice on Picard, written by the astronomer Joseph-Nicolas Delisle who created the Observatory archives in the mid eighteenth century: *Archives de l'Observatoire*, A.1.1–10, cited Wolf, *Histoire de l'Observatoire* 11.

Claude-Antoine Couplet who prepared the stone on which to trace the meridian, as noted. Even the Academy's seven founding mathematician members were not there in full force, with two of them, Pierre de Carcavi and Colbert's star recruit, Christiaan Huygens, apparently not attending.[24] Even so, there would undoubtedly have been assistants to help move the instruments. At the time of its establishment, the Academy's seven mathematicians who were also astronomers were complemented by a group of nine physicists. Among them was Claude Perrault, doctor of medicine, comparative anatomist, translator of Vitruvius and, as already mentioned, architect of the Observatory destined to be the Academy's new home.[25] Perrault wrote the following in the margin of one of his preparatory drawings:

> Le bâtiment de l'Observatoire est bâti de telle sorte qu'il peut suppléer tout seul à tous les principaux instruments d'astronomie dont on se sert pour les observations
>
> Sa situation donne une ligne méridienne dans l'étage haut. [...] Les deux pavillons octogones sont coupés de manière qu'un de leurs pans donne le lever du soleil au solstice d'hiver, et l'autre son coucher au même solstice; qu'un autre donne le lever du soleil à l'équinoxe et l'autre le coucher au même équinoxe; que deux autres pans donne le lever du soleil d'été l'autre le coucher du même soleil.[26]

This, presumably, is what would make the building *tout savant*: an instrument, quite literally, for observation, not just a place where observations would be carried out.[27] Thus, inasmuch as the observations made on 21 June 1667 were to be essentially constitutive of the building's configuration, it is fairly safe to assume that Perrault, the architect who had determined this, was one of the party at the site that morning.[28]

Thus, with five mathematicians, Couplet, Claude Perrault, and a few assistants, the record allows for a grand total of, at most, ten to twelve participants. Had Colbert or the King been there, the record would not have failed to mention it, so clearly they were not. No 'lay' participants are mentioned either, nor are any onlookers.

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[24] *Mémoires de l'académie royale des sciences* I, 7.

[25] Ibidem, 13–14. Above, note 13.

[26] Perrault, *Mémoires de ma vie* 243.

[27] Ibidem, 43.

[28] Antoine Picon says that he was. Picon A. – Robert J.P., *Le dessus des cartes: Un atlas parisien* (Paris: 1999) 110: 'Le 21 juin [...] jour du solstice d'été, Perrault trace au sol le plan des fondations de l'édifice. Il suit l'orientation de la méridienne données par les savants'. I have been unable to find any evidence for this undocumented claim.

This is in stark contrast to the normally public, popular and populous nature of traditional foundations and inaugurations. When the foundation stone was laid at the Louvre two years earlier, there was a crowd of people from the building trades, another from the court, military men and musicians to open and close the ceremony with trumpet fanfares. Principal actors included Bernini, Colbert, Charles Perrault and Fréart de Chantelou, Bernini's amanuensis, who recorded the event in his diary. The star, of course, was the King himself, who used a silver trowel for the token application of mortar meant to anchor the marble cornerstone. The distribution of cash that followed caused something of a melee in the foundation pit, as labourers, builders and soldiers all scrambled for the scattered coins, while later on elite participants wrangled over who would get to keep the silver trowel and other tools the King had used.[29] That the ceremony took place in the centre of the city suggests the possibility of civic participation, or at least an audience of curious Parisians, though none is overtly mentioned.

Civic participation was very much a feature of in the inauguration of royal statues in France, beginning with the inauguration of the bronze equestrian statue of Henry IV at the western end of Île de la Cité in 1614.[30] Indeed, Gérard Sabatier, who has studied them in detail, calls them 'une affaire essentiellement municipale'.[31] After 1660 when Louis XIV made his last solemn *entrée* into the city of Paris, the inauguration of his simulacra in the form of statues increasingly replaced traditional occasions for personal contact between the people and their King who – especially with his retreat to Versailles in 1682 – was fast becoming an abstraction.[32]

Such ceremonies would appear to have been riotous popular celebrations, and took place not only in Paris, as for example in Place des Victoires in 1686, but in cities all over France. These inaugurations were accompanied by music, artillery salvoes, and shouts of 'Vive le

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[29] Chantelou, *Journal du voyage en France du Cavalier Bernin* 261–263; Perrault, *Mémoires de ma vie* 166–169.

[30] Sabatier G., "Entre religion monarchique et culte civique: l'inauguration des statues publiques des rois de France aux 17^{e} et 18^{e} siècles", *Cahiers KUBABA* 4, 1: *Fêtes et festivités* (2002) 187–203; Sabatier G. – Edouard S., *Les monarchies de France et d'Espagne (1556–1715)* passim. I am very grateful to Maarten Delbeke for these references.

[31] Sabatier, "Entre religion monarchique et culte civique", 197.

[32] Ibidem, 194.

roi' with municipal officials making three ritual circuits of the statue once it had been installed.

> Suivaient ensuite les réjouissances traditionelles: reception à l'hôtel de ville, discours en l'honneur du roi, diner, concert et bal pour les notables, fontaines de vin […] distribution d'aliments, […] aumône générale pour le peuple, joutes […] comédies et bals, et enfin feu d'artifice.[33]

There was little that might be called riotous about the foundation of the Paris observatory. Its site, located on a rise at the southern limit of the city just outside the Porte Saint Jacques had been chosen for its virtual isolation and its clear view of the horizon. To the north were the extensive gardens of various religious institutions, with the convent of Port Royal, stronghold of Jansenism, its closest neighbour immediately to the northwest. On the other sides were open fields dotted with windmills [Map 7].[34] Peasants may, conceivably, have paused in their work to stare at the unfathomable antics of seven bewigged city gentlemen with their strange instruments, but everyone knew that peasants did not count. If the scientists later raised a glass to celebrate the occasion, there is no record of it.

Observation

The iron and copper sextant brought to the Observatory site from the *Bibliothèque du roi* on 21 June must be the one that appears in the middle ground of the engraving by Sebastien Le Clerc printed as the frontispiece of the Academy's very first publication: Claude Perrault's *Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire naturelle des animaux* of 1671 [Fig. 1].[35] In this interior view of the library, the King is shown paying a visit to the *Académie des sciences*. Beyond the two high arched windows that take up at least half of Le Clerc's picture plane is the garden where the sextant, here in its original location, is set up in a *parterre* on the right. Behind it, on a hill in the distance, and framed together with the sextant by the same rectangular window pane, is

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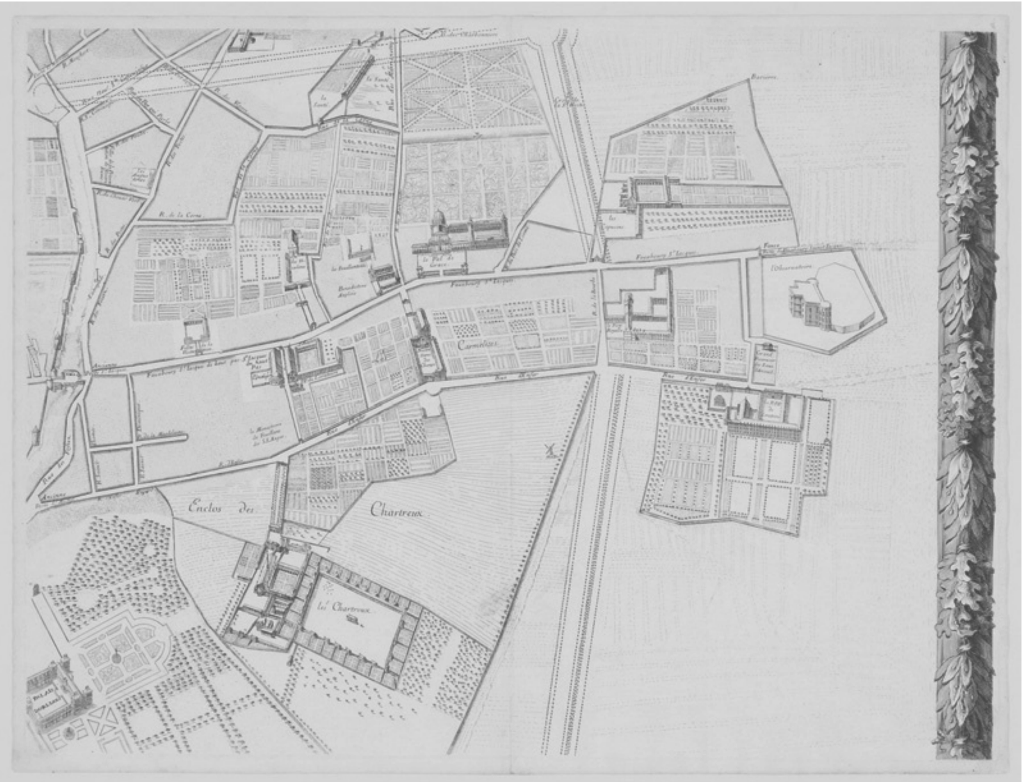
[33] Ibidem, 193.

[34] Wolf, *Histoire de l'Observatoire* 30–31. The 1676 plan of Paris by Pierre Bullet and François Blondel shows the Observatory in cavalier perspective as built at the right edge of the plan, and gives a good idea of its location.

[35] Claude Perrault, *Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire naturelle des animaux* (Paris, Imprimérie royale: 1671), reprinted *Mémoires de l'Académie royale des sciences*, III.



Map 7. Claude Perrault, "L'Observatoire de Paris" (built 1667–1682), as it appears on the Bullet/Blondel plan of Paris, published in 1676. Collection Centre canadien d'architecture / Canadian Centre for Architecture.

Fig. 1. Sébastien Le Clerc, Frontispiece of Claude Perrault, *Mémoires pour servir à l'Histoire naturelle des animaux*, 1671. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France.

the Observatory under construction. The building was indeed under construction at the time, but located as it was on the other side of the Seine several kilometres away, it was nowhere within view of the King's library. Moreover, there is no record of the King's ever visiting the Academy before 1682.

But here, as in other representations such as the Testelin tapestry cartoon already alluded to, factuality was hardly the point. The intent was rhetorical, and the rhetoric of Le Clerc's 1671 frontispiece is a helpful guide to the sense of the ceremony that took place in the Faubourg St Jacques on the summer solstice four years earlier.

The high windows with their unobstructed view of a distant horizon interrupted only by the Observatory, testify to openness, to free scientific investigation. The room is in a library, but there is not single a book in sight. What we see instead, besides the live human subjects, are scientific instruments and apparatus, among them an armillary sphere in the foreground and, at the right, a telescope with a long tube, a new invention at the time. There are also various vegetable and mineral specimens, as well as several skeletons, both human and animal. A map lies unrolled on the floor and, partially obscured below the telescope, is the framed plan of a town with star-shaped 'modern' fortifications, whose design would have been governed by principles of enhanced visibility and the elimination of blind spots.[36]

The manifesto that opens History of the Academy of Sciences reveals why, in this picture, the scientists' quarters in the King's library have been cleared of books. The scientists' credo is that modern scientific investigation demands observation; it demands unmediated contact with *things*, and that means escape from the tyranny of words:

> Ce n'est guère que de ce siècle-ci, que l'on peut compter le renouvellement des Mathematiques et de la Phisique. M. Descartes et d'autres grands Hommes y ont travaillé avec tant de succès, que dans ce genre de litterature, tout a changé de face. On a quitté une Phisique sterile et qui depuis plusieurs siécles en étoit toûjours au même point; *le regne des mots et des termes est passé; on veut des choses* (my italics). […] L'autorité a cessé d'avoir plus de poids que la raison, ce qui étoit reçu sans contradiction, parce qu'il l'étoit depuis longtems, est présentement

[36] Summaries of the history of modern fortification: Hale J.R., "The Early Development of the Bastion", in Hale J.R. – Highfield J.R.L. – Smalley B. (eds.), *Europe in the Late Middle Ages* (Evanston, Ill.: 1965) 466–494; Pollack M., *Military Architecture and the Representation of the Early Modern European City* (Chicago: 1991) xi–xxxvi. See also McEwen I.K., "Lines of Fire", *Architectural Theory Review* 12,1 (2007) 60–77.

> examiné, et souvent rejetté : et comme on s'est avisé de consulter sur les choses naturelles la Nature elle-même, plutôt que les Anciens, elle se laisse plus aisément découvrir, et assés souvent pressée par les nouvelles Experiences que l'on fait pour la sonder, elle accorde la connaissance de quelqu'un de ses secrets.[37]

Tacitly acknowledged as the godfather of the Academy, it was Descartes who first compared the accumulated wisdom of the Ancients to an old town haphazardly build up over time. With their disorderly accumulation of ramshackle buildings such towns were far less satisfactory, in his view, than 'ces places régulières qu'un ingénieur trace à sa fantaisie dans une plaine', by which he means the geometrical trace of 'modern' fortifications.[38] Claude Perrault puts his own spin on the architectural metaphor in his preface to *Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire naturelle des animaux* – the work introduced by the image under discussion.

Until now, says Perrault, writing natural history had been a matter of compilation: of anthologising information gathered from earlier writings, accepted uncritically on the strength of their authority. The result, he writes, is a grand edifice, which looks impressive enough but which, being built on poor foundations, 'n'a point de véritable solidité'.[39] The opening paragraph of the History of the Academy concludes with a similar censure of the preference, in the mathematics and physics of the past, for 'l'agréable' over the 'le solide'.[40]

Significantly, the view of the Observatory in Sebastien Le Clerc's engraving of 1671 is not of the *finished* building, of a building already built, as it was in the Testelin tapestry cartoon painted four years earlier. Le Clerc's view presents a *new building under construction*. Immune to the facile seductions of 'l'agréable', the men assembled under the immense windows of *Bibliothèque du roi* are committed – or so the image would seek to persuade us – to building a *new* edifice whose 'solidité' is to rest not on a shaky foundation of words but on

[37] *Mémoires de l'Académie royale des sciences* I, 2.

[38] René Descartes, *Discours de la méthode* (1637), ed. E. Gilson (Paris: 1999) 59.

[39] Perrault, *Memoires pour servir à l'histoire naturelle des animaux*, preface, unpaginated: 'De sorte que ces matieres, dont ces Auteurs ont compose leurs Ouvrages, étant pour la plûpart défectueuses, et posées sur de mauvais fontémens, il est vrai de dire que tout le grand édifice qu'ils ont élevé ensuite dessus avec une si belle simmetrie, n'a point de veritable solidité'.

[40] *Mémoires de l'Académie royale des sciences* I, 2.

observation, as indeed the sextant, strategically set up in the garden just outside, affirms.

In every discipline, careful examination and precise measurement were to replace all appeals to precedent. When it came to astronomy, it was resolved to begin with the most fundamental of operations.

> Pour poser de bons fondemens d'Astronomie, on ne dédaigna point de commencer par la hauteur du Pole et par la Ligne Méridienne. Il ne faut point d'imaginer que ces deux operations, pour être fort communes, soient fort faciles. Toute opération Astronomique dévient delicate, dès qu'on la veut porter à une certaine précision. […] Entre toutes les différentes manières qui peuvent donner la Méridienne, et l'Elévation du Pole, on choisit celles qui ne supposoient point d'opérations précédents, où l'on eût été en péril de se tromper.[41]

The text continues with the account of the foundation already cited, concluding:

> […] Ils tirèrent une Méridienne et huit Alimuths avec tout le soins que leur pouvoient inspirer des conjectures si particulières. Ils trouvèrent la hauteur méridienne du Soleil de 64° 41' au moins, ce qui donne pour la hauteur du Pole à l'Observatoire 48° 49' 30". […] *Toutes ces Observations furent la consécration du lieu.* (my italics)

Observation, with no appeal to precedent, was what consecrated the site of the Paris Observatory. But the foundation was not just of a building. The fundamental observations that supplied these measurements were meant to lay 'de bons fondemens d'Astronomie', as the text just cited affirms. And if astronomy was to some extent the *epitome* of observation, which it was, according to Antoine Furetière's dictionary ('Observer, se dit plus particulierement et absolument des astres'), observation in general was the 'solid' foundation of modern science itself, with the operations of the summer solstice of 1667 nothing less than a performance of the scientific method that underpinned it.

But a *consécration*? The sacred aura conferred by the term is ostensibly more than a little at odds with the secular character of scientific method. A century later it would become admissible to call the dedication of royal statues discussed earlier their consecration – a 'consécration civile', qualifies the *Mercure de France* of August 1763.[42] But with a handful of elite *savants* as participants and no witnesses to speak of,

[41] *Mémoires de l'Académie royale des sciences* I, 42–43.
[42] Sabatier, "Entre religion monarchique et culte civique" 202.

the founding of the Observatory was, as already noted, nothing like a civil ceremony at all. On the other hand, the word 'observation' may itself shed some light on the particularity of the ceremony's alleged sanctity, as well as on the near-religious commitment to modern science of those who took part.

The primary meaning of the French word *observation* has nothing to with visual scrutiny. *Observation* in French is *primarily* what is called 'observance' in English: the observance of rules and laws, in the modern French lexicon ('action d'observer ce que prescrit une loi, une règle'); the observance, most especially, of divine laws in the seventeenth-century lexicon of the *ancien régime*.[43]

> OBSERVATION. subst. fem. Obeïssance qu'on doit aux loix divines et humaines. La Réligion ne consiste point en controverse; mais dans l'observation exacte de la Morale de JÉSUS-CHRIST.[44]

So too,

> OBSERVER. v. act. Obeïr, acccomplir, suivre une règle, garder une loi. Les Romains faisoient bien observer la discipline militaire. Les Magistrats sont établis pour faire observer les loix. Le moyen d'être sauvé, c'est d'observer les commandemens de Dieu.[45]

Ultimately, then, it seems that the rigour of the procedure – precise *observation* in *every* sense of the word in French – was what made the foundation of the Paris Observatory a 'consecration'. Observation of the heavenly bodies, of course, but also strict *observation* (observance) of a whole new set of rules. These were neither human laws nor divine ones, nor even were they the rules of military discipline. They were the rules of the method first sketched out by René Descartes less than 40 years earlier, and the new edifice consecrated by their observance was *l'Observatoire royale de Paris*.[46]

Thanks in large part to Claude Perrault, the building, once completed, did indeed become something of a testament to its founders' intentions; evidence, in retrospect, of the relevance of the ceremony. An austere, astylar showpiece of the stonecutter's art, it very soon figured as a 'must see' in the guidebooks of the day. Thus, for example,

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[43] *Le nouveau petit Robert de la langue française* (Paris: 2007) s.v. "observation". Furetière, *Dictionnaire universel*, s.v. "observation".

[44] Furetière, *Dictionnaire universel*, s.v. "observation".

[45] Ibidem, s.v. "observer".

[46] See especially Descartes, *Discours de la méthode*, part 2: "Régles de la méthode".

Germain Brice in 1684, 'le plus singulier dans la structure de tout l'ouvrage est qu'il n'y a ni fer ni bois, et tout est vouté d'une solidité tout-à-fait extraordinaire'.[47] Gabriel Perelle's view of it from the south, published in the 1670's, features a sextant and a large telescope in the foreground. Its caption also calls attention to the building's *solidité*, as well as to its resemblance to military architecture, which was another significantly recurring theme [Fig. 2].

> L'OBSRVATOIRE est un Edifice que le Roy a fait commencer environ l'année 1667 sur un lieu éminent à l'extremité du Faubourg de St. Jacques pour servir aux observations du cours des astres et à plusieurs expériences de Phisyque. Il a tout l'appareil et toutes les commoditez que demandent ces 2 belles Sciences. Mais outré la Magnificence de sa structure, on y voit une soliditié qui la fait prendre pour une citadelle.

One of the very last features of the construction, added at the insistence of Jean-Dominique Cassini, whom Colbert brought to Paris from Bologna to head the Observatory in 1669, was the permanent, physical trace of the meridian first drawn on the stone prepared by Claude-Antoine Couplet at the foundation ceremony of 1667: the line that bisected Perrault's building and fixed its north-south axis. At the top of the centre of the south wall of the high vaulted upper room, a small round opening was positioned to allow the passage of a ray of sunlight precisely at midday when, entering the room, it struck a brass strip, inlaid down the middle of the floor. This instrument, the combination of the hole and the line, was the artefactual iteration of the invisible meridian, and was known as a *meridiana* in Italy where it had been invented in the previous century. Until the Paris one was installed in the Observatory, *meridiane* had been located only in churches. The largest, and most famous one is in San Petronio in Bologna, where its installation had been directed by Cassini himself before he came to Paris.[48]

The graduated brass strip laid into the floor of the upper room at the Observatory was 31.45 meters long – a line which here, as elsewhere, was the horizontal trace of the sun's changing elevation as it declined over the six month period from summer to winter solstice, and rose

[47] Germain Brice, *Description nouvelle de ce qu'il y a de plus remarquable dans la ville de Paris* (Paris, N. Le Gras: 1684) 99.

[48] Heilbron J.L., *The Sun in the Church: Cathedrals as Solar Observatories* (Cambridge, Mass.: 1999) 82–119.

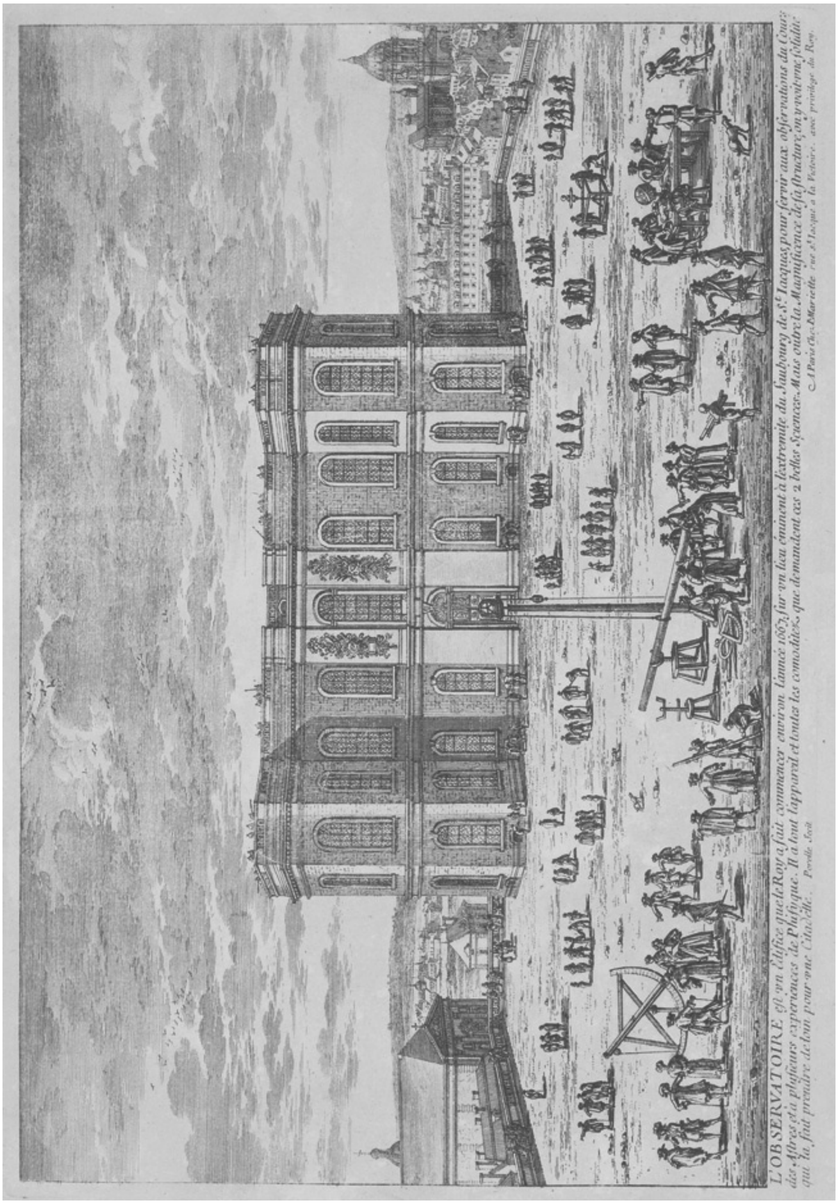

Fig. 2. Gabriel Perelle, View of the Paris Observatory from the South, in Perelle, *Veues des belles maisons de France fait par Perelle* (Paris: 1660–1679). Collection Centre canadien d'architecture / Canadian Centre for Architecture.

back up again. At noon on the summer solstice when the sun was at its highest elevation (64° 41', according to the observations made on 21 June 1667), its beam would strike the end of the meridian closest to the south wall where the opening was located 9 meters above the floor. At midwinter, on 22 December, the low midday sun would enter the room to strike the far end of the meridian where it then turned around to travel back up along the line towards midsummer.[49]

Unlike the gnomons of traditional sundials that mediated the sun's position by casting a shadow, *meridiane* measured the sun's elevation *directly* through the *un*mediated capture of its light. As an exemplum of first hand, unmediated knowledge, the Observatory meridian was, like the building's 'solidité', another testament to the modernity of its founders' intentions, as indeed was Cassini's unequivocal veto of a project to elaborate the solar calendar marked out by the brass strip by inlaying signs of the zodiac figured in marble into the floor alongside it.[50]

'Le portrait du Roy'

Louis XIV's only visit to the Observatory on 1 May 1682 was sandwiched between the dedication of the new chapel at Versailles on the previous day and a visit to the building site of the Hôtel des Invalides later the same afternoon.[51] The Mercure Galant's twenty-page report on his tour of the Observatory includes a description of his visit to the hall of the meridian on which, as the text puts it, the image of the sun is received.

> On monta ensuite au premier étage, où il y a une très-grande Salle, que l'on a fait en partie pout l'ornement de cette Maison, et pour y tracer une Ligne Méridienne, sur laquelle on reçoit l'image du Soleil qui passe par un petit trou fait à la Voûte, qui est élevée d'environ sept toises. M[r] Cassini fit remarquer à Sa Majesté, que l'on doit graver sur le plancher les Observations des Equinoxes, et des Solstices, afin qu'on puisse voir à l'avenir les changemens de l'obliquité de l'Ecliptique.[52]

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[49] Heilbron, *The Sun in the Church* 172–175; Wolf, *Histoire de l'Observatoire* 83–92.

[50] Cassini's objection to the signs of the zodiac: Perrault, *Mémoires de ma vie* 146.

[51] *Mercure Galant*, May 1682, 138. See also *Mémoires de l'Académie royale des sciences* vol. I, 148, where the date is erroneously given as 21 May and Wolf, *Histoire de l'Observatoire* 117–123.

[52] *Mercure Galant*, May 1682, 148–149.

The terms of this account confirm the meridian as the abridgement or epitome of the 'all knowing' building Claude Perrault intended it to be and, of course, of the ceremony that founded it: observations which, among other things, consecrated the Paris Observatory as receptor for the sun.

There is no known image of Louis XIV's visit to the Observatory, however – only the one depicting his visit to the *Bibliothèque du roi* in Sebastien Le Clerc's engraving of 1671 which, as already noted, never actually took place [See Fig. 1]. His fictitious presence among the academicians there has been explained as an important reminder that the Academy of Sciences was a *royal* foundation whose legitimacy hinged upon the King's approval.[53] But the narrative entailed by his appearance in this context is not limited to affirmation of the Academy's legitimacy.

At the centre of the group of scientists, dwarfed by the high windows behind them, the King stands to the right of Jean-Baptiste Colbert, who gestures towards a circular cheval mirror, which partially obscures the framed plan of a *place forte* with its modern fortification wall. Louis observes the mirror, one hand on his hip, the other, outstretched, resting on the pommel of his walking stick. The mirror he contemplates is a *miroir ardent* or concave burning glass, allegedly invented by Archimedes in the third century BCE, and shaped so as to generate combustion by focussing the sun's rays on a point. The glass represented in Le Clerc's image was made in 1665 by François Villette, a craftsman from Lyons, who presented it to Louis XIV, who in turn presented it to the Academy the following year.[54] Antoine Furetière includes a description of it under the entry for *miroir* in his dictionary.

> MIROIR. subst. masc. Glace de verre fort unie et estamée par le derriere, qui représente les objets qui luy son presentés par le moyen de la reflexion des espèces ou de la lumière. […] Miroir ardent est un miroir concave. […] Le plus grand miroir ardent qui ait esté fait est celuy du Sr. Villette de Lyon qui est à la Bibliothèque Royale. Il a 30 pouces de diamètre, le point bruslant est distant d'environ trois pieds, son focus est large comme un demi Louïs d'Or. Il fait prendre feu au bois vert dans

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[53] Stroup A., *A Company of Scientists: Botany, Patronage, and Community at the Seventeenth-century Parisian Royal Academy of Science* (Berkeley, CA – Oxford: 1990) 8: 'His appearance in the engraving does not correspond to the facts but is meant to convey, through artistic license, a royal seal of approval'.

[54] Denis Diderot – Jean le Rond d'Alembert, *Encyclopédie* (Paris, Briasson: 1751) vol. I, 626.

> un instant. Il a percé une pièce de quinze sous en 24 secondes, et un morceau de fer blanc en six secondes; […].[55]

Germain Brice also refers to this mirror in his 1684 guide to Paris, when he explains that the *Bibliothèque du roi* is where the Academy of Sciences holds its meetings, adding that in the room where they meet is 'un grand Miroir d'acier qui fait des effets surprenans, lors qu'il est exposé au Soleil'.[56] But the mirror in Le Clerc's image is not 'exposé au Soleil'. It is turned towards Louis XIV.

Thus, two solar receptors are represented in this engraving: the Paris Observatory in the distance outside the window and in the foreground inside the room, directly in line with the Observatory, François Villette's burning glass. Between them, over to the left, stands the Sun King.

The heretic Neapolitan philosopher Tommaso Campanella was an old man living in Paris when Louis was born on 5 September 1638. Invited by Cardinal Richelieu to cast the newborn's horoscope, Campanella prophesied that the child would grow up to be the sun king destined to build the utopia he had envisioned in his *City of the Sun*, written at the beginning of the century.[57]

But the Sun King who eyes the *miroir ardent* in Sebastien Le Clerc's engraving is no relative to the sun king Campanella foretold when he read the celestial signs at Louis' birth. Official recourse to astrology came to an end with Louis' assumption of personal rule, and as Hervé Drévillon has demonstrated, 'le soleil et les astres des astrologues n'ont rien à voir avec le symbolisme solaire du roi'.[58] Astrology was one of the two pursuits explicitly banished from the Academy of sciences' programme of study as 'très-frivoles' and 'très-pernicieuses'.[59] Jean-Dominique Cassini, who refused to allow astrological figuration anywhere near the *meridiana* in his Observatory, enjoyed a frequent cordial encounters with the King.[60]

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[55] Furetière, *Dictionnaire universel*, s.v. "miroir". See also "Extrait d'une letter escrite de Lion, touchant un Miroir ardant fait par M. Villette", *Journal des Sçavans*, 8 March 1666, 125.

[56] Brice, *Description nouvelle* 83.

[57] Tommaso Campanella, "Ecloga Christianissimis Regi et Reginae in portentosam Delphini […] Nativitatem (1639)", in Idem, *Tutte le opere di Tommaso Campanella*, ed. L. Firpo, vol. I. *Scritti letterari* (Milan: 1954) 281–313, with Firpo L., "Introduction", Campanella, *Tutte le opere,* vol. I, liv–lviii; Meyer J., *La naissance de Louis XIV* (Brussels: 1989) 101–134.

[58] Drévillon H., *Lire et écrire l'avenir. L'astrologie dans la France du Grand Siècle* (Paris: 1997) 238; cf. Sabatier, *Versailles ou la figure du roi*, 107–108.

[59] Above, note 2.

[60] Above note 50 and Wolf, *Histoire de l'Observatoire* 119–122.

Thus, during the so-called 'Apollonian' period of the reign of Louis XIV (1660–1678), the Sun King represented at the Louvre, the Tuileries and Versailles was, Gérard Sabatier has argued, not the astrological figure of Campanella's prophesies, but the *astronomical* one of the new science, with Apollo, its ubiquitous avatar, appearing as the central attraction in countless representations.[61] The Tuileries palace, for instance, was decorated between 1666 and 1671 in keeping with a rigorously integrated Apollonian programme devised by the *Petite Académie* – to the point, according to Sabatier, where the Tuileries, and not Versailles, is the palace that should properly speaking be called 'le palais du Soleil'.[62] When Colbert founded the *Petite Académie* in February of 1663, he named his assistant Charles Perrault its secretary.[63] Its principal task during the years that followed was, precisely, development of the requisite iconography.[64]

Robert Berger has called the Louvre 'the palace of the sun', on the strength of its colonnaded east front, whose solar symbolism he attaches to the palace of Apollo in Ovid's *Metamorphoses*: 'Regia Solis erat sublimis alta columnis […]'.[65] Charles Perrault claims the idea for the colonnade as his, and says he communicated it to his brother Claude, architect of the Louvre; 'il l'approva et la mit dans son dessein, mais en l'embellissant inifiniment, comme il en était capable'.[66] Construction of Louvre colonnade began in 1667, the same year as the Observatory.[67]

As for Versailles, 'Il est bon de remarquer d'abord, que comme le Soleil est la Devise du Roy, et que les Poétes confondent le Soleil et Apollon; il n'y a rien dans cette superbe Maison qui n'ait rapport à cette divinité', wrote André Félibien in his *Description* of 1674.[68]

At Versailles, according to Charles Perrrault, the Perrault brothers were jointly responsible for the design of the *Grotte de Thétis* – a construction built in 1664 under the reservoir adjoining the north wing

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[61] Sabatier, *Versailles ou la figure du roi* 100–145.
[62] Ibidem, 111.
[63] Perrault, *Mémoires de ma vie* 130–131.
[64] Sabatier, "La gloire du roi" 528.
[65] 'The palace of the Sun stood high on lofty columns, […]', Ovid, *Metamorphoses* 2.1, cited Berger R., *The Palace of the Sun: The Louvre of Louis XIV* (University Park, Penn.: 1993) 2.
[66] Perrault, *Mémoires de ma vie* 148: 'La pensée du peristile est de moi'.
[67] Construction of the Louvre, *inter alia*, Berger, *The Palace of the Sun* 57–64.
[68] André Félibien, *Description sommaire du Chasteau de Versailles en 1674*, in *Recueil de descriptions* 279; cf. Sabatier, *Versailles ou la figure du roi* 107.

of the palace, and meant to evoke the undersea cavern where, as Ovid tells it in the *Metamorphoses*, Apollo came to rest at night.[69] Charles again takes credit for the idea and, again, attributes its development to Claude:

> Lorsque le Roi eut ordonné qu'on bâtit la grotte de Versailles, je songeai que, Sa Majesté ayant pris le soleil pour sa devise […] et la plûpart des ornemens de Versailles étant pris de la fable du Soleil et d'Apollon […] on avoit […] mis un soleil levant dans le bassin qui est à l'extrémité du petit parc; je songeai donc qu'à l'autre extrémité du même parc où était cette grotte, […] il seroit bon de mettre Apollon qui va se coucher chez Thétis après avoir fait le tour de la terre, pour représenter que le Roi vient se reposer à Versailles après avoir travaillé à faire du bien à tout le monde. Je dis ma pensée à mon frère le médecin, qui en fit le dessein, lequel a été exécuté entièrement […].[70]

The integration of the grotto into the topographical narrative of the *petit parc* at Versailles, which was meant to plot the course of the sun/king/Apollo during the day/season/year is not difficult to relate to Claude Perrault's concern, three years later, to make the Observatory in Paris a similar reflection of solar movement. But where scientific exactitude was the overriding preoccupation at the Observatory, it was obviously a very minor concern in the mythical narrative of the *petit parc* which had the sun/king/Apollo 'rising' in the *bassin d'Apollon* at the west end of the park, and 'setting' in the grotto at the east end, in complete reversal of the natural order [Fig. 3].

The most captivating of Claude Perrault's designs for the *Grotte* was his scheme for the grilles that closed the three entrances to Apollo's underwater cave:

> […] il fit aussi le dessin de la porte, qui était très beau: c'étoit un Soleil d'or qui répandoit ses rayons aussi d'or sur toute l'étendue des trois portes, lesquelles étoient de barres de fer peintes de verd. Il sembloit que le Soleil fût dans cette grotte et qu'on le vit au travers des barreaux de la porte.[71]

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[69] On the *Grotte de Thétis*, André Félibien, *Description de a grotte de Versailles* (1671) in *Receuil de descriptions* 339–387; recently, Petzet, *Claude Perrault* 503–530; Ovid, *Metamorphoses* 2.67–69.

[70] Perrault, *Mémoires de ma vie* 207–209. Begun in 1664, the *Grotte* was demolished 20 years later in 1684 to make room for the northward expansion of the palace.

[71] Perrault, *Mémoires de ma vie* 209.

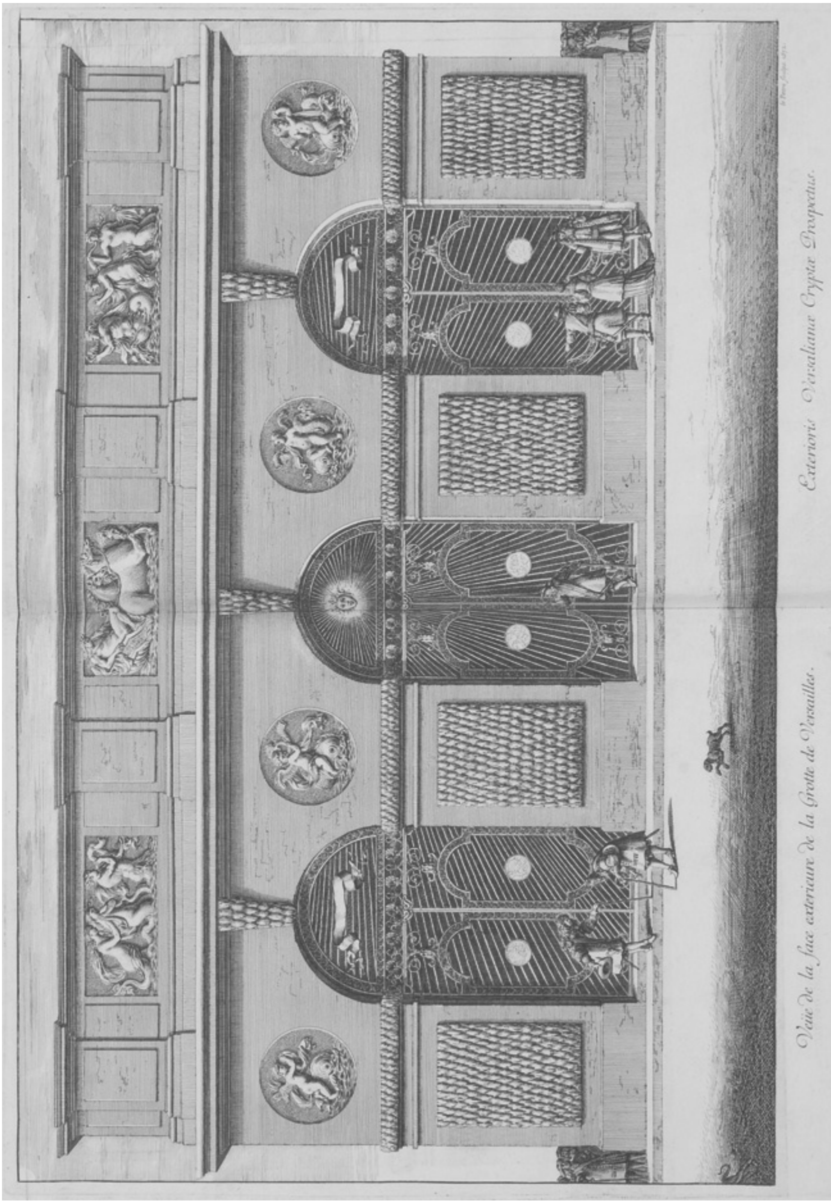

Fig. 3. Jean Le Pautre, “Vue de la face extérieure de la Grotte de Versailles”, in Félibien, *Description de la grotte de Versailles* (Paris: 1676). Collection Centre canadien d’architecture / Canadian Centre for Architecture.

In the evening, these west-facing grilles with their golden sun and gilded iron rays, were lit by the real sun as it set, so that, as André Félibien describes it, 'ces feints rayons poroissent de véritables traits de lumiére'.[72] Blazing with reflected light at sunset, Perrault's exquisite artifice all but became reality.

There is no shred of Apollonian imagery at the Paris Observatory nor indeed, inside or out, any representation of the sun itself. The only ornament on the north front facing the city was in the crowning pediment that, originally, enshrined the King's arms flanked by astronomical instruments [Fig. 4].[73] More astronomical instruments are deployed like battle trophies in two vertical bands of relief, on either side of the south entrance to the building [See Fig. 2], which as already mentioned, is astylar, with its chief claim to fame, the precision of its stereotomy. A building meant to capture the sun and record its movement *directly*, the Observatory was founded on unmediated observation. With all mediating mythical references swept aside, the King also appears directly – for the first time, a genuinely astronomical figure – to cohabit this *real* Palace of the Sun whose foundation mirrors the *real Roi Soleil.* How exactly does this work?

It was, among other writings, his early essay *Le Portrait du Roy* of 1663 that recommended André Félibien to Jean-Baptiste Colbert as a potentially valuable contributor to the *Petite Académie*'s project *de travailler la gloire du roi*.[74] The overriding theme of the essay is the near impossibility of representing *un Roy veritable* – a real king. The beauty of the King – of his body – is not just a harmonious arrangement of its parts, but rather the light shed by the ineffable beauty of his soul.[75] Indeed, it was easier for the ancient artists like Phidias to represent the grandeur of gods they had never seen, he writes, than it is, now, for the painter of the King's portrait to capture his greatness. Like the Observatory the real king needs no ornaments,

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[72] Félibien, *Description de a grotte de Versailles* in *Receuil de descriptions* 342.

[73] Jacques-François Blondel, *Architecture française*, 4 vols. (Paris, Charles-Antoine Jombert: 1752–1756) vol. I, 60: 'Ce pavillon est couronné d'un fronton, dans le tympan duquel sont placées les armes de sa majesté avec leur supports, seul ouvrage de sculpture qui soit employé dans ce bâtiment, si l'on en excepte les deux trophées de l'avant-corps du milieu de la façade du côté du midi'. The King's arms were removed at the French revolution, and have been replaced by a clock.

[74] Sabatier, "La gloire du roi" 530.

[75] Félibien, *Le Portrait du Roy* in *Recueil de descriptions* 86–87.

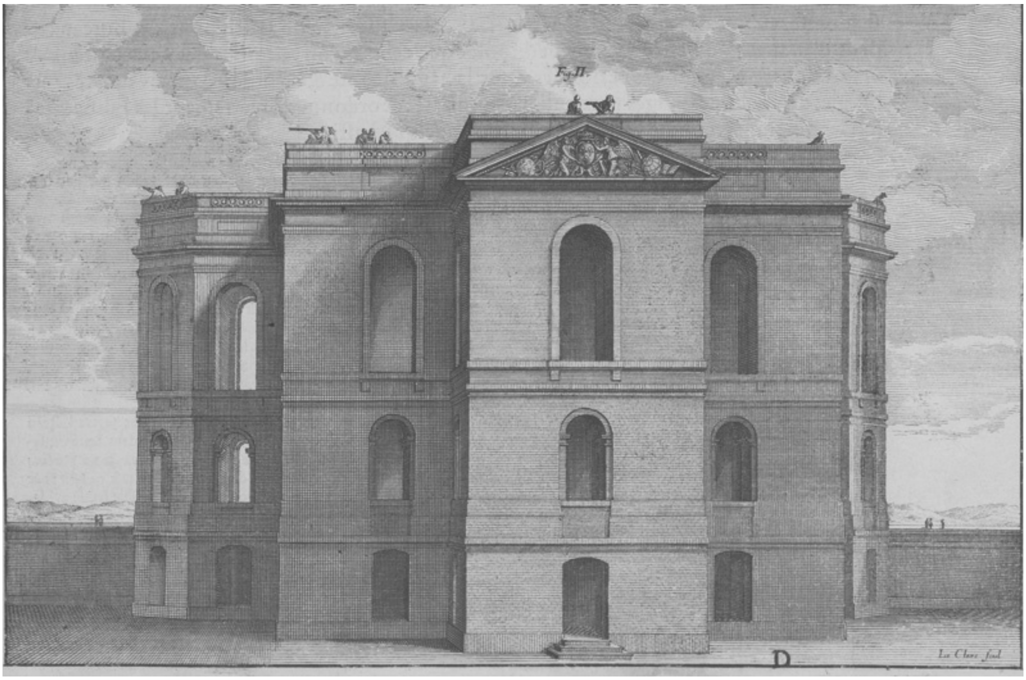

Fig. 4. Sébastien Le Clerc, View of the north face of the Paris Observatory, plate III, Fig. II, in *Les dix livres d'architecture de Vitruve*, trsl. Claude Perrault (Paris: 1674), where it appears as an illustration for the Vitruvian term "scaenographia". Collection Centre canadien d'architecture / Canadian Centre for Architecture.

> […] quoy-que le Peintre soit riche, et abondant en belles imaginations, il a néanmoins un sujet qu'il est obligé d'imiter, mais un sujet si éxcellent, qu'il n'y a point d'ornemens qui le puissent enrichir, ni de traits qui le puissent dignment exprimer.[76]

Félibien was not the first to struggle with the problem of portraying the unrepresentable greatness of a French king. Over fifty years earlier, Jean Errard, the so-called father of French fortification, dedicated his treatise, *La fortification reduicte en art et démonstrée* to Louis XIV's grandfather, Henry IV.[77]

> Ce que la plus docte plume, ou le plus habile pinceau traceroit, tesmoignerait plustost la foiblesse de l'ouvrier qu'il n'exprimeroit l'excellence du sujet. […] Or, estimant plus à propos d'exciter les autres par mon exemple que les exhorter par mes paroles à leur devoir, j'ay essayé a rediger par écrit, et à esclaircir par figures, une matière en laquelle il a pleu à Dieu, par le passé, exercer […] vostre inimitable vertu et générosité. […] cette matière est, de la maniere d'assieger, fortifier, assaillir et defendre les places […].[78]

Errard's answer to the conundrum on which Félibien expatiates is that the king's greatness, being in effect unrepresentable, is best represented by this, Errard's own book. Represented, that is to say, not by an image or a by a text but by a *method*, which its author claims as the first systematic, infallible, *geometrical* demonstration of the art of fortification. To understand the king as best represented in such an abstraction is of course to anticipate a situation in which the king himself must eventually become superfluous.

The observations that consecrated the site of the Paris Observatory at its foundation on 21 June 1667 were the performance of another – analogous, yet far more radical – method that, while sketching the portrait of the king, simultaneously sowed the seeds of his demise.

[76] Ibidem, 88.

[77] Jean Errard, *La fortification reduicte en art et domonstrée*, 3rd edition (Paris, n.p.: 1620).

[78] Ibidem, dedication, unpaginated.

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THE IMPORTANCE OF BEGINNING, OVER AND OVER: THE IDEA OF PRIMITIVE GERMANIC LAW

Colin F. Wilder

What was the role of beginning or founding in early modern European law? The idea played a role in several practices, from ritual performance to the formulation of a notion of a state of nature. It was also a major common concept of antiquarian history, jurisprudence and anthropology, before these became separate disciplines. To give a sense for the strangeness that the notion of foundation or beginning could occasion, let me offer a brief vignette. In 1657 there began a lawsuit between two sides of a noble family named the Rau in Hesse (in the western Holy Roman Empire). Johann Heinrich Rau had just died, and his sister Anne Agnes, his widow Sabina Maria, and Sabina's new husband Caspar Friedrich Dernbach, set about trying to secure control of the Rau clan's holdings centered in the village of Holzhausen, east of Marburg in the Lahn valley. Their opponents were Johann Heinrich's agnatic kin, in this case his second cousins through his father. How to proceed? Acting on behalf of his new wife and her sister-in-law, Caspar Friedrich Dernbach

> went forth into the tree nursery by the house [sc. on the Rau estates], broke a branch from [one of] the trees, slashed clods of soil from the earth, as far as the free estate that belonged to the late Johan Henrich Rau had extended. Thus [Dernbach] took these things into his possession.[1]

Among the Rau's properties in Holzhausen were also a mill and meadows. At the mill, Dernbach

> pulled a nail out of the mill door post, and similarly took a stone from the river that drives the mill [...]. He went up to the mill wheel, made it stop, then let it go again. He said that by this he had taken possession of

[1] '[F]ort in der Baumgartten ahm Haus, brach Zinkem od: ast vor der Baümen [...] stach Schollem aus der Erde so weit zu dem adelich freyen Ritterguth gehörig, und Junker Johan Henrich Rau [...] zuständig gewesen und in seinem leben eingehabt und besessen wolte [...] selbiger gleicher gestalt hiermit in besitzt genommen haben'. See *Instrumentum apprehensionis* of 8 June 1657; Staatsarchiv Marburg Bestand 340 Rau Paket 54 e, fols. 12r–13v.

> everything and all rights involved in the milling. Saying this […] Dernbach went to the […] meadow. He sliced a clump of turf out of the ground and handed it to me and said that by this token, he took into his possession this and all other things which [sc. Johann Heinrich Rau] possessed. From there, he went to the fields in Mardorf and slashed clods of dirt out of these, too, and gave them to me.[2]

As Caspar Friedrich Dernbach galloped around Holzhausen on his horse, the notary and witnesses rushed after him. Dernbach's action is a vivid and rare example of the *ritual of taking possession* in early modern Germany. This is not to say it was *the only way*, but it was immediately recognizable to the parties and the court, before which notice of the ritual was brought.[3] This may or may not have been a display of authentic or naïve folk custom – for it was staged, with notaries present – but the court in Marburg recognized the customary validity of this ritual action.

Dernbach's wild ride *performed a foundation* in two different senses. First, this was a performance of taking possession. That is, these actions were coded to indicate the inaugural use of the land, its fruit, and the man-made infrastructure on it, such as the mill. In the name of the two women, Dernbach acted as a new user or possessor of the land; the ride around the estates itself constituted the taking of possession, which inaugurated new rule or lordship. Second, the coded acts in the ride formed part of what was interpreted to be a corpus or body of *primitive Germanic law* which intellectuals could research, treasure and reflect upon. As will be seen, legal operators in the seventeenth and eighteenth century in Germany used various versions of founding to legitimate civil law institutions of their own day.

The Dernbach party to the dispute used this 'Germanic tradition' argument to defend their property rights in the Rau estates against challenges from other parts of the family for decades to come. There were numerous other symbolic, ritual forms in early modern European

[2] '[F]erner hieb er stäne aus der Mühlen thür Posten, in gleichen nahm er steins aus dem Gewasser so die Mühle treibet […] über weilte mihr selbige stürtzete auch daß Mühle Raht [i.e. Rad] zu, zog er wiederumb auf, und lies daß wasser wieder auf das Mühlen Rath laufen, und sagte darbey daß er gleichengestalt wolte solches alles mit dem Mahlwerck wassergang und allem andern gerechtigkeit in Possess dardurch und darmit genommen haben;' *Instrumentum* fols. 15r–16v.

[3] Classic insight into how the laws of a society should be read as part of its interpretation of the world can be found in Geertz C., *Local Knowledge: Further Essays in Interpretive Anthropology* (New York: 1983) 173, 214–216.

private law, many of which carry on in some form to this day, such as the giving of a key to a building as 'short-handed' delivery upon sale or rental. This practice too was apparently of ancient vintage. Were Dernbach's actions in fact traditional? Why did his party think so? What was the status of these actions? What was Germanic legal tradition supposed to be? And who were those ancient Germans, anyway?

Three Fundamentalisms: Antiquarianism

The Dernbach party's notion of coded performance was one of several approaches to primitive Germanic law developed by scholars in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. These approaches could all be called forms of *fundamentalism*. In what follows, I offer three such fundamentalisms: antiquarianism, ancient constitutionalism and state of nature arguments. Sometimes these involved performance, while other times they were powerful simply as ideas. The approach to the ancient past studying the objects of the past seemingly for its own sake can be characterized as *antiquarian*. Scholars who trucked in such things included professors of law and letters, archivists, and freelance humanists. They transmitted their ideas by training students and especially by publishing their ideas in treatises and journal articles, written both for the German-language community and for the transnational republic of letters.[4] Some antiquarian works emphasized almost exclusively the *content* of the law or idea in question. For instance, in his *Legal System of the Germans* (1741), Johann Leonhard Hauschild sought to reconstruct ancient German judicial procedures. On the basis of a variety of sources, Hauschild averred that the fundamental unit of German law was possession; all trial of conflicts over rights in court began with the question, 'Who is in possession?'[5] Ironically, Hauschild was actually projecting ancient Roman practice onto the ancient Germans, i.e. the civil law of the late Roman empire, which had subtly made its way into German legal practices through subterranean channels. For more than a thousand years, the 'grandeur that was Rome' (as Edgard Allen Poe once called it) was thought to be a

[4] Grafton A., *Joseph Scaliger: A Study in the History of Classical Scholarship* (Oxford: 1983).

[5] Johann Leonhard Hauschild, *Abhandlung von der Gerichtsverfassung der Teutschen von 8. bis zum 14. Seculo* (Leipzig, Johann Christian Langenheim: 1741) 3.

cultural and even legal inheritance of the Germans. At the same time, the Roman inheritance also challenged the ingenuity of any native German custom. Other authors beside Hauschild, like Johann Nikolaus Hertius or Johann Georg Estor, sometimes emphasized performance of promises, loyalty, or fidelity to lord-servant relationships as the fundamental idea of 'Germanic law'.[6]

It was no coincidence that Hauschild discovered practices among the ancient Germans practices that closely resembled those of ancient Rome civil law, as known throughout Europe in the central books of Roman law (the *Digest, Code* and *Novels*). One could say that German antiquarians like Hauschild, Estor and Hertius had a serious case of 'Roman-law envy', as Constantin Fasolt once dubbed it. Nothing illustrates this better than a look at research of the period into Germanic legal folk wisdom, which started in the late seventeenth century in Germany, as a consequence of late humanist interest in German philology. Throughout the early modern period, princely governments had sponsored humanists to burnish and publish medieval chronicles that seemed to legitimate present-day politic claims. From this, it was only a short step to some of the nooks and crannies of old German sources, including proverbs. One of the major scholars of German folk wisdom in the late seventeenth century was Johann Nikolaus Hertius, who was a professor of law, author of expert legal opinions and eventually chancellor of the University of Giessen in the southernmost Hessian principality, Hesse-Darmstadt. Hertius collected and commented on *paroemia*, or proverbs, and presided over several law dissertations on them.[7] His work was widely read and cited by his contemporaries

[6] See Johann Georg Estor, *Bürgerliche Rechtsgelehrsamkeit der Teutschen*, ed. J. Hofmann, 2 vols. (Marburg – Frankfurt am Main, Immanuel Weldige: 1758–1767) vol. II, 303–304 and Johann Georg Estor, "Die belehnung mit einer sache tilget die res merae facultatis und werket ein verbithungs-recht", in *Neue Kleine Schriften*, 4 vols. (Marburg, Philipp Casimir Müller: 1761) vol. IV, 87. Antiquarianism was not solely connected to beginnings. Estor and Johann Philipp Kuchenbecker (1703–1752) published what they considered old but essentially modern examples of deeds and wills, to show how the old things in Hesse worked in the early, authoritative period (including the fifteenth century).

[7] The works by Hertius on *paroemia* include Johann Nikolaus Hertius – Georg Schaubach, *Satura Prima: Paroemiarum Juris Germanicarum* (Giessen, H. Müller: 1684); Johann Nikolaus Hertius, "*De Paroemiis Juris Germanicis Libri Tres*", in *Commentationum atque opusculorum*, 3 vols. (Frankfurt am Main, Johannes Davidus Zunnerus: 1700); Johann Nikolaus Hertius, *Observationes Iuris Germanici in Paroemiam: Da nichts ist, hat der Käyser sein Recht verlohren* (s.l., s.p.: 1702); and Johann Nikolaus Hertius – Johann Raysius, "Dissertatio de Epidipnide paroemiarum juris

and later jurists, including Estor and their colleague Johann Stephan Pütter in Göttingen.[8]

Reading these examples of apparent ancient German antiquity gives the lie to the remark of Goethe's Mephistopheles that 'gray is all theory, while life's fields are green'. The proverbs indeed ring with ironic, funny or just plain, everyday, human elements in law. They included maxims like 'a deal is a deal'; 'hand must warrant [watch, guard] hand'; 'purchase breaks rental'; 'a man is responsible to his neighbor for a fire'; 'the older brother divides, the younger chooses'; 'there is rarely agreement about things held in common'; 'letters are better [sc. proof] than witnesses'; or 'giving something in pledge often ends up meaning that you lose it'. One of the best is, 'The game is up if the wolf makes it back to the heath, or if a thief is allowed to prove his innocence by taking an oath'.[9] While the proverbs leaned toward private law, some of them were more matters of wisdom about life, e.g. 'When there is love at the beginning of a marriage, it diminishes later'.[10]

Germanicarum", in *Commentationum atque opusculorum*, 6 vols. (Frankfurt am Main, Johannes Davidus Zunnerus: 1713). The *Libri Tres* collected 139 proverbs, the *Dissertatio de Epidipnide paroemiarum iuris* 44 proverbs.

[8] After the period considered here, the great researchers of the Romantic era, notably Carl Friedrich von Savigny (1779–1861) and his friend Jacob Grimm (1785–1863) expanded the notion that the old legal proverbs contained traces of the authentic national genius of primitive Germanic law. After the Romantics, the great systematizers like Rudolf Hübner and Heinrich Brunner incorporated the proverbs into the body or system of Germanic law. The scientific German historical establishment in the twentieth century has considerably advanced this research program, while abandoning the older articles of faith about national genius. Fasolt C., *The Limits of History* (Chicago: 2004) (for Hermann Conring); Friedrich von Savigny, *Vom Beruf unserer Zeit für Gesetzgebung und Rechtswissenschaft* (Heidelberg: 1814); the stunning Grimm J. (ed.), *Weisthümer*, 7 vols. (Göttingen: 1840–1878) and Grimm J., "Von der Poesie im Recht", *Zeitschrift für geschichtliche Rechtswissenschaft* 2 (1815–1816) 25–40; various articles in Erler A. – Kaufmann E. – Stammler W. (eds.), *Handwörterbuch zur deutschen Rechtsgeschichte*, 7 vols. (Berlin: 1971–1998) and Cordes A. – Stammler W. (eds.), *Handwörterbuch zur deutschen Rechtsgeschichte*, 5 vols. (Berlin: 2004–); and Buschmann A., "Estor, Pütter, Hugo – Zur Vorgeschichte der Historischen Rechtsschule", in Gergen T. (ed.), *Vielfalt und Einheit in der Rechtsgeschichte* (Cologne: 2004) 75–101. For a study of the related field of Germanic philology, see Considine J., *Dictionaries in Early Modern Europe: Lexicography and the Making of Heritage* (Cambridge: 2008).

[9] In the *Libri Tres*, see 'Hand muss Hand wahren' (#18); 'Kauf bricht Miete' (#46); 'Ein Nachbar ist dem andern ein Brand schuldig' (#22); 'Der ältere theilt / der jüngere wehlt' (#24); 'Gemein ist selten ein' (#25); 'Brieffe seyndt besser dem Zeugen' (#27); and 'Wann es dem Wolff zur Heyde / und dem Dieb zum Eyde kommt / so haben sie gewonnen Spiel' (#33). 'Pfand giebt offt Land' comes from the *Dissertatio de Epidipnide paroemiarum juris Germanicarum* (#11).

[10] *Libri tres* #29.

Among the most famous proverb studies by Hertius was 'Hand muss Hand wahren', or 'hand must warrant hand'.[11] Hertius's three-page discussion of this proverb was typical of those in his main treatise on the topic. He indicated the earliest attestations of the proverb (in the famous Lübeck town law and Saxon Mirror, both from the thirteenth century), some comparisons (in this case to a cognate Swedish folk law), a theoretical explanation (the rule is good for commerce) and then some citation of other famous jurists who discuss the rule (Strauch, Mevius, Hahn, Guicciardinius). And indeed, this rule was a common 'folk law' throughout Europe. Essentially, it comes down to this: If a person P1 had voluntarily given over possession of a thing to another person P2 and the thing had subsequently been given to P3, or if P3 had found it or even stolen it, then P1 could only bring a legal action against P2. As a related proverb put it, 'Wo du deinen Glauben gelassen hast, muss du ihm suchen' ('Where I have put my trust, there must I seek it'). Commentators from Hertius's day to the present have seen the rule as good for trade and commerce, since it implies that, except in cases of theft or loss, no open-market purchase can be unwound by a previous owner who disputes the execution of a contract.[12] The rule thus recognized 'rights in the good-faith purchaser of movables superior to those of the true owner', which lets good-faith buyers be assured that if they pay for something, they will get to keep it.[13]

This was good law, and Hertius knew it. While indeed sometimes antiquarians might be accused of just presenting a cabinet of curiosities, i.e. magical stuff from the past, Hertius gave every proverb a scientific treatment, connecting it to ideas and practices across Europe and where possible to authorities, such as Scripture. The mother of all authorities, though, was Roman law. To be a little glib, Hertius's approach could be called 'me too!' antiquarianism: For his aim was to

[11] On this proverb, see also Hübner R., *A History of Germanic Private Law*, ed. P. Vinogradoff – W. Walz – E. Lorenzen, trsl. F. Philbrick (Boston: 1918) 409; Pollock F. – Maitland F., *The History of English Law before the Time of Edward I*, 2 vols. (Cambridge: 1899) 155; and Hofmann L., "Über Den Rechtssatz 'Hand Muss Hand Wahren'", *Legal History Review* 11, 1 (1930) 78–94.

[12] Depending on circumstance and other applicable rules, P1 might only be able to obtain a monetary reward from P2, rather than the return of the thing itself. As Estor put it in the *Bürgerliche Rechtsgelehrsamkeit* (his giant compendium of 'German jurisprudence'), 'The intention of this is to abbreviate long trial procedures, among other things'. See Estor, *Bürgerliche Rechtsgelehrsamkeit* 2, 303.

[13] Berman H., *Law and Revolution: The Formation of the Western Legal Tradition* (Cambridge: 1983) 349, 620.

show that the Germanic *corpus* (sic) of law was sophisticated and wise. The Germans were just as wise as the Romans! Furthermore, the German laws corresponded to parts of the Roman system, that men like Hertius knew so well. In this case, he glossed (marginally) this proverb as pertaining 'To Title D [sc. of the *Digest*], on the *rei vindicatio* charge'. That is, when confronted with problems, German folk wisdom had independently arrived at the same or comparable solutions as the ancient Romans.[14]

Ancient Constitutionalism

The examples of antiquarianism offered here could all be described as structuralist, in that they sought to depict 'the way things were' as we might say: the *mentalité* of an ancient people. Antiquarians like Hertius reached back to a beginning, but rather than a point in history, they looked at a period, like a geological layer. Characteristically, there were also really no *actors* in these presentations; rather, scholars like Hertius presented institutions and ideas. The Rau-Dernbach example presented earlier can indeed be seen as an effort to perform legitimately an authoritative ritual with a code based on antiquarianism defined by the likes of Hauschild or Hertius. However, antiquarianism was only one of the ways in which legal operators discovered, articulated and used the idea of a primitive Germanic law. Two other ways, namely *ancient constitutionalism* and *state of nature arguments* both dealt with authoritative foundations, but worked quite differently. These types of beginning also had performative and conceptual registers, served

[14] Among the numerous other treatments of proverbial law in the same period there are Johann Ulrich Cramer, "Erläuterung der Paroemiae Juris der Bauer muss dienen, wie er bespannt ist", *Wetzlarische Nebenstunden*, 5 vols. (Ulm, Johann Conrad Wohler: 1757) 66–80; Johann Friedrich Eisenhart, *Grundsätze der deutschen Rechte in Sprüchwörtern* (Leipzig, Weygand: 1792); Georg Melchior von Ludolff, *Variarum observationum forensium pars tertia et ultima* (Wetzlar, Nicolaus Ludovicus Wincklerus: 1734); Johann Philipp Orth, "Neuer rechtshandel, in welchem die das sonst bekante juristische sprüchwort kauf bricht miete angehende materie, nebst anderen in demselben sich ereigneten besonderen umständen, des merern an- und ausgefüret zu finden ist", *Samlung merckwürdiger Rechtshändel*, 16 vols. (Frankfurt am Main, Johann Bayrhofer: 1778) 168–183; Georg Tobias Pistorius, *Thesaurus paroemiarum Germanico-iuridicarum* (Leipzig, J.C. Muller: 1716) and Otto Philipp Zaunschliffer, *Disquisitio de veritate proverbii "Kauf geht vor Miethe"* (Marburg, J.H. Stockius: 1687).

presentist purposes, and depicted the ancient German legal past – and yet were as different from antiquarianism as they were from one another. Unlike antiquarianism, state of nature arguments and ancient constitutionalism starred discrete *actors* (real and fictional) making decisions and laws in a long distant past, which held consequences for the modern German-Roman Empire of the eighteenth century.

A short essay by Justus Möser offers a concise and accessible introduction to both the second and third forms of foundation.[15] For decades, Möser was at the head of government of the small prince-bishopric of Osnabrück in Westphalia, serving at different times as judge, representative, privy counselor and even regent. He was also a well-known writer who took an interest in Germanic antiquities. For much of his later career, he published regular short newspaper articles called 'Patriotic Phantasies' on cultural, legal and political topics. In one of his articles, for instance, he meditated on local milling monopolies (*Bannrecht*), an old institution common across the empire. He came up with two separate, self-sufficient justifications for this monopoly. One was the type of argument which has since come to be called a 'state of nature' argument: Given the incentives and start-up costs associated with milling, it made sense for local governments to give a monopoly patent to one individual in each area to set up water mills to grind grain. But let us look at Möser's second justification first. This was an ancient constitutionalist argument: Genuine right or authority had been transmitted over the centuries, from the Carolingian period down to the present, such that it was perfectly justified that present-day millers enjoyed the rights they did.[16]

According to a widespread convention in the Holy Roman Empire, all political authority and all rightful holding of real estate and lordly rights were linked in a chain from tenant to higher tenant, or vassal, to prince to the emperor himself. Princes held their rights *in fief from* the emperor, and they in turn *enfiefed* lower nobles, who in turn *enfiefed* people at the bottom of society – ordinary peasant tenants and townsmen. This convention essentially originated from the ancient

[15] For Möser, see Ahl I., "Möser, Justus (1720–1794)", in Stolleis M. (ed.) *Juristen: Ein biographisches Lexikon von der Antike bis zum 20. Jahrhundert* (Munich: 2001) 445–447 and Knudsen J., *Justus Möser and the German Enlightenment* (Cambridge: 1986).

[16] For a comparable argument involving regalia across the medieval empire, see Thieme H., "Die Funktion der Regalien im Mittelater", *Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte. Germanistische Abteilung* 62 (1942) 57–88.

Roman Empire, in which the emperor was supremely powerful, even though formally he was supposed to be subject to law like everyone else ('primus inter pares'). In medieval Europe there arose the notion that the emperor was thus 'Lord of the world'. For a century after Charlemagne, imperial authority had been unified and held by German (Carolingian) rulers, but then, between the tenth and thirteenth centuries, this authority became 'splintered' (in Möser's term).[17] In this period of chaotic decentralization, authority had been taken over by the hundreds of counts who ruled local cantons (*Gaue*) of the empire in the emperor's name. Over time, some of these counts had become princes, while in other cases, the counts' (originally the emperor's!) rights had been further split up and bought and sold and eventually lost. A right fairly bought was a right fairly held; after all, 'Hand muss Hand wahren'. Now, Möser observed that milling was regarded legally as one of the lesser regalian rights, or powers that supposedly the emperor alone originally had been able to grant, through his network of agents the counts, to local millers.[18] Like other regalian and comital rights, milling rights had been sold off by rulers to common people over the centuries. Sale of various lordly rights led not infrequently to the situation that 'a serf becomes squire over another serf'.[19] It was absurd, thought Möser, for a serf to lord it over serf. But still, one assumed as a matter of course that the transmission of such rights had been justly accomplished. So by transmission, ancient imperial rights had come to be possessed by many a local entrepreneurial bumpkin across the empire, including in Osnabrück.

This short, charming, just-so story was an example of a much wider form of argument that historians and political theorists have come to call *ancient constitutionalism*, or the use of ancient legal deeds to justify or to criticize the present political order. The English *Magna Carta* of 1215 is probably the most famous example of this. This 'Great

[17] This would have happened either during the transfer of authority to the Ottonians in the tenth century or during the Great Interregnum (1254–1273, prior to the ascent of Rudolph Habsburg).

[18] Also in this category were the rights to establish trade fairs or minting money; the 'major' regalia were matters of war and peace. See Jean Barbeyrac's notes in Grotius H., *The Rights of War and Peace*, ed. J. Barbeyrac (Indianapolis: 2005) bk. II, 502–503.

[19] Justus Möser, "Von der landesherrlichen Befugnis bei Anlegung neuer Mühlen", in *Sammelte Werke*, ed. L. Schirmeyer – W. Kohlschmidt, 5 vols. (Berlin: 1954) vol. II, 240.

Charter' was a treaty between king and barons, with generous terms for the latter. It was celebrated by critics of the Stuart kings of England in the seventeenth century, and became one of the foundations of the growing constitutionalist position espoused by the various parliamentary forces in the English Civil War (1642–1651). But such forensic use of the past did not have to go back to antiquity as such; rather, recognizably ancient constitutionalist programs referred to 'ancient' documents from as late as the fifteenth century.[20] Nor did the documents and rights in question have to be of royal or imperial scope; sometimes, the struggle was just over one small town's rights.

Ancient constitutionalism was *both* a program of (motivated) humanistic scholarship and a program of action by legal operators, of printing, pamphleteering, and politics by other means. Some of the most famous ancient constitutionalist writers were 'monarchomach' humanists like François Hotman (author of the *Francogallia*, 1576) or Theodor Beza (*De iure magistratum*, 1572), both active on the Huguenot side in the French Wars of Religion (1562–1598). These men were engaged in the life-or-death struggle of reformed Christianity in France. Similar to their work was that of Edward Coke, the opponent of extra-constitutional royal power in England. If such monarchomachs could show that the earlier kings had not been sovereigns, they hoped to convince their readers that present-day kings also had to obey the old laws and protect minority rights. Indeed, many of the famous civil wars of seventeenth century in Europe were articulated as struggles between sovereign princes and nobles claiming ancient rights. Conflicts in the 1650's in England, France, and in Hesse and Hildesheim in Germany can all be characterized as such, and the list could easily be extended.

Ancient constitutionalism also shaded into the ordinary use in everyday civil law of beginnings and foundations. For instance, in 1744, the privy counselor and professor Heinrich Christian Senckenberg of Hesse-Darmstadt published a collection of documents concerning a small town in the nearby Wetterau area called Freienseen. Senckenberg's collection sought to vindicate Freienseen's claims to be free from the jurisdiction of the neighboring count of Solms. The basis

[20] See Holt J. (ed.), *Magna Carta and the Idea of Liberty* (New York: 1972) 140, 170–171 and Levy J., "Not So Novus an Ordo: Constitutions without Social Contracts", *Political Theory* 20 (2009) 1–27.

of the townspeople's claim was a letter from 1471 showing that they had originally been free and had been protected by a different lord.[21] In the eyes of lawyers and intellectuals, Freienseen's letter from 1471 was just as much an 'ancient constitution' (*Verfassung*, *antiqua constitutio*) as the Magna Carta was.

A long-running legal dispute in eighteenth-century Hesse concerned a form of feudal land tenure called *Landsiedelleihe* or 'colonial settlement tenure'. Landlords claimed that tenure contracts of this type constituted a distinctive, ancient Germanic type, which, as such, had to be interpreted to the letter. The tenants and for a time the courts regarded the contracts as variations of the well-known Roman type of *emphyteutic* tenure – an interpretation which advantaged tenants. In 1769, Georg Lennep, a judge on the high appellate court, published a seminal study of these contracts, accompanied by a considerable collection of examples of them and other types for comparison. In effect with overwhelming forensic evidence, Lennep argued that the landlords were correct, that the contracts in fact constituted a special type, originating in the twelfth century.[22]

Whether in the 1650's, 1744 or 1769, all parties followed an ancient constitutionalist strategy, namely to find and publish old, authoritative documents; both sides argued that these documents proved that their side held by inheritance a *untainted, procrustean right*, whether a lordly right of action or an immunity from some encroachment. In these and many cases, the parties contended that the old forms they proffered were in fact fundamental old Germanic forms. In 1655, the knights in Hesse founded their position on the assumption that, in ancient times, there had been a strictly contractual relationship

[21] See Heinrich Christian Senckenberg, *Unfug des recursus ad comitia in unerheblicher antastung seiner Kayserl. Majestät reservati iuris cognoscendi de suis privilegiis, welcher ab seiten der armen gemeinde Freyenseen gegen des Herrn Grafen zu Solms-Laubach Hoch-Gräfliche Excellence*, ed. J. Hase (Giessen, Johann Müller: 1744).

[22] In 1766, the landgrave of Hesse-Cassel had issued a final decision on the matter in the landlords' favor, which has led some to interpret Lennep's work as a justification of this new policy. Colonial settlement tenure was a peculiarly Hessian and Solmser form with parallels in other places, such as *Meierei* in Hannover and Bavaria. These innovative tenure forms were part of the settlement and town-foundation of the great empty forests and wastes of the continent; see Bartlett R., *The Making of Europe: Conquest, Colonization, and Cultural Change, 950–1350* (Princeton: 1993). For *Landsiedelleihe*, see the review of literature in Fox G., "Land Tenure, Feudalism and the State in Eighteenth-Century Hesse", in Herr R. (ed.), *Themes in Rural History of the Western World* (Ames: 1993) 99–140.

between prince and nobles. Such a fundamental contract was the utter norm, the prototypical 'ancient constitution'.[23] In 1741, the burghers of Freienseen (successfully) claimed that they had been a free town of old, until the counts of Solms arrogated authority over them. In 1769, Lennep published hundreds of examples of *Landsiedelleihe* deed letters, in order to construct a primitive, regional-specific form of tenure, characteristic of the ancient Hessians.[24]

But was there any better ground (reason) for holding a right than the mere claim that it had been passed down from person to person over the centuries? While there was a deep respect for tradition, age, and known, received central authority, these things could not always trump sound reason or charity or the Gospel. It was Justus Möser, who found yet another argument for the legitimacy of milling monopolies, namely in state of nature arguments.

State of Nature Arguments

Justus Möser was well known as an 'engaged critic of absolutism and the Enlightenment', something which I.K. Ahl attributes to his 'heritage from an old territorial noble family', as well as his actual career in statecraft. 'In countless writings on the subject of state and law', Ahl writes, 'Möser played off the historically developed political rights and privileges of the estates against the egalitarian natural law theory of his day'.[25] According to Ahl, Möser subscribed to the idea that the state was founded through an original social contract, but one among the great proprietors rather than simply among all denizens,[26] as John Locke might have imagined. Let's look at this more closely.

In the case of milling, Möser speculated that in the beginning, when there was little or no settlement, anyone could have built a mill to grind his own grain. Entry into the market was free, but the start-up costs were high. After all, you had to build your own mill! And if a second mill was built in the same area, it might no longer be sustainable

[23] Brunner O., *Land and Lordship: Structures of Governance in Medieval Austria*, trsl. H. Kaminski – J. Melton (Philadelphia: 1984).
[24] That is, the early Frankish and Saxon settlers in the area, who took the name of the earlier Chatti, i.e. Hessians.
[25] Ahl, "Justus Möser" 445–446.
[26] Ibidem, 446.

to operate there, because from now on, each of the two millers would only get half the customers and revenue of before. But still, any potential miller needed to be able to count on taking in enough revenue to pay back initial debts (so Möser implied). To solve this hypothetical market failure, the hypothetical ruler would step in and limit the number of mills in a given area. With this restriction, the single area miller could count on getting enough business on a regular basis to balance accounts.

On its own this would simply be a one-step natural-law argument to legitimize the existing order of monopolies and theoretical princely rights. Möser took the argument one step further, inquiring into how this right should actually be measured out. For instance, how large a population or geographical area should one milling monopoly cover? Should a family have to travel a day's ride to mill their grain?[27] At what remove might a second miller be permitted? One wanted to nudge capital growth, but not create restrictions beyond necessity.

Möser's juxtaposition of two forms of fundamentalism (ancient constitutionalism and state of nature arguments) was not unusual. The great English jurist William Blackstone took a similar approach to the laws of England, arguing that their justice was based both on the soundness of the ancient 'Gothic constitution' and on natural law.[28] Both were means of touching the beginning of society.

But whose state of nature was this, anyway? Möser has been characterized as an estates-conservative, comparable to Edmund Burke in Britain. His *vita* and writings suggest that he may have been imagining the natural relationships not among individuals but among the greater powers of an area. Or perhaps he was simply considering the motives of one power – the prince or count. The German historian Diethelm Klippel once suggested that there might be as many natural law systems as there were natural law treatises.[29] Thinking along this line, we

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[27] Möser, "Von landesherrlicher Befugnis" 238–239.

[28] Simmonds N., "Reason, History and Privilege: Blackstone's Debt to Natural Law", *Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte. Germanistische Abteilung* 105 (1988) 200–213.

[29] Klippel D., "The True Concept of Liberty: Political Theory in Germany in the Second Half of the Eighteenth Century", in Hellmuth E. (ed.), *The Transformation of Political Culture: England and Germany in the Late Eighteenth Century* (London: 1990) 450–451, with reference to a partial list of natural law treatises from eighteenth-century Germany compiled in Meister Christian Friedrich Georg, *Bibliotheca iuris naturae et gentium*, 3 vols. (Göttingen, A. Vandenhoeck: 1749–1757).

can distinguish how various legal operators in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries constructed *different states of nature* to serve different purposes. Familiar to many scholars will be the states of nature imagined by writers like Thomas Hobbes, John Locke, or Jean-Jacques Rousseau.[30] Although Hobbes was well known in eighteenth-century Germany, natural lawyers cited the famous Dutch jurist Hugo Grotius far more often than the three famous liberals, largely through the famous edition of his *Rights of War and Peace* (*De iure belli ac pacis*, first published 1622) that appeared in 1712.[31]

In this work, Grotius presented a classic and very important form of state of nature argument about the origins of property, reminiscent of Locke's justly famous later argument in the *Second Treatise of Government* (1690). In ancient Rome, jurists had divided the ways of acquiring possession of something into natural and civil forms. The original civil mode was to formally transfer possession and then let possession 'ripen' into indefeasible title through the passage of time, in case some earlier owner should appear and claim to have been wrongfully dispossessed. The natural modes were irregular and rather fanciful situations, such as when part of a river bank washes away or when a craftsman transforms someone's materials into a new object, which necessitates a way of deciding which person gets possession of the new thing. What Grotius did was to *reclassify* all of the ways of acquiring possession of something by whether they were *original* (deriving from no previous title-holder) or *derivative* (obtained from a previous title-holder). He began by imagining that all things in the world had originally been held 'in common'. Things like the sea, he famously argued, remained commons to this day. But generally, one either got something originally from nature, or derived one's title from a previous holder. The original form par excellence was *first possession*, which Grotius said explained all (!) original rights, including title in land, exercise of a right of way, and even rule over people (who had let themselves be taken over, like land waiting to be settled). By contrast, all right acquired by voluntary or forced transfer – any kind of direct exchange from old holder to new holder – was considered to be derivative, to exist in historical time, rather than at the beginning of

[30] Reference is to Thomas Hobbes, *Leviathan; or, The Matter, Forme and Power of a Commonwealth, Ecclesiastical and Civil* (Oxford: 1957); John Locke, *Two Treatises of Government* (New York: 1952); and Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *The Social Contract* (New Haven: 2002).

[31] Grotius, *Rights of War and Peace*.

the whole order. Sometimes things might indeed revert back to being un-owned, as happened when cargo was lost during a shipwreck or land had been abandoned. Grotius's distinction shows that the familiar concept of a state of nature vs. modern historical civil society is not just a matter of the fundamental constitution of a society at a rather abstract level. It also explains how ordinary property rights were interpreted. A person either creates title to something that was not owned previously (at least in that form), or he obtains title from somewhere else. A 'chain of possession' is imagined stretching backward through time to a first possessor.

In Hesse-Cassel, the vice-chancellor and professor Johann Georg Estor presented a highly imaginative account of imprescriptible *natural rights* based on an alternative idea of the 'state of nature'. He did this in two works, *On the abuse of matters of sheer, natural ability* (1739), and a short essay, 'Enfiefment with a right extinguishes matters of sheer, natural ability and creates a right to prohibit' (1761).[32]

The state of nature (*status naturalis*) as it had been casually constructed by Estor had not been marked off chronologically from the civil state, not even as a fanciful, mythical pre-historical period. In this, it differed from the kind of beginning of the world imagined by Grotius, or the beginning of political society, as imagined by Locke or Möser. Estor still considered the natural state as a beginning, but one that occurs right *behind or in the interstices of existing civil law*, as though between ticks of the clock. Perhaps we could call this a logically prior or logically fundamental 'natural state'. At least, that is how Estor thought of it. Following a number of earlier writers, including Grotius, Arnoldus Vinnius, Augustin von Leyser, and the famous encyclopediast Johann Heinrich Zedler, Estor sketched a *trifecta* of natural rights, known in the natural law tradition at that time as *res merae facultatis*, 'matters of sheer, natural ability'. These were three categories of action, including open-market transactions, the right to build on one's own land, and free movement of the body in space (freedom of movement and association).[33] Like his predecessors, Estor took the naturalness of these sheer, natural abilities to be a kind of

[32] Johann Georg Estor, *Opusculum de abusu rerum merae facultatis in foro Germanico praesertim feudali* (Jena, Johann Friedrich Ritter: 1744); and Estor, "Belehnung tilget die res merae facultatis".

[33] For more early modern works on this subject, see Wilder C., *Property, Possession and Prescription: The Rule of Law in the Hessian and Rhine-Main Region of Germany, 1648–1776*, unpubl. Ph.D. (Chicago: 2010) 502–503.

logical or metaphysical quality: As actions they belonged naturally to all humans, as naturally as the movement of any animal. (Ever since Aristotle, people have thought that commerce and building on land are as natural to humans as fang and fur are to animals.) This was the 'natural state' of Estor's argument: a kind of standing, ready, natural ability of humans to do certain things, if not prevented.

But indeed, these things might come to be regulated, either by the objective norm of a regime (i.e. commands, statutes) or through the creation of property rights between people by voluntary agreement. A properly authorized magistrate might, or might not, make a rule that restricted this right, as when governments gave out liquor license monopolies. The power of forward movement in space was the basic ability which manifested as freedom of entry or exit, but which might be circumscribed by private property or serfdom. Generally, barring positive law to the contrary, a person was held to be free to spend his money however he saw fit. Yet, a properly authorized government might makes laws to limit this right, such as when the Spanish Crown limited commerce within its New World domains to Spanish subjects.

Similarly, a person might gain or lose the right to do something by adverse possession. To merely exercise one's 'natural freedom' in a vacuum, unilaterally, with neither the cooperation nor resistance of anyone else, established nothing. You could just do it or not, do it more, skip a day, whatever. But cooperation or connivance of others could establish property rights in the positive civil law. Estor gave an example of this in his *On the abuse of matters of sheer, natural ability* (1739):

> If someone should possess a mill but it collapses in a flood or from age, he has the ability to rebuild it. Say this rebuilding of the mill is delayed and in the mean time another person changes the water flow, either there or upstream, and possesses it thus for a long time. Then in this case, the earlier possessor cannot prohibit the later possessor.[34]

In this stripped-down, exemplary scenario, there are only two people in the world. Since the first man (M1) used the river without either the cooperation or connivance of anyone else, and then desisted for a while, no property right was ever established. Then, the second man (M2) came along and diverted the river. When M1 returned, he had established no positive right, no possession. Rather, M2 was, as it is still called in law today, an *adverse possessor*. That is, his use was chal-

[34] Estor, *Opusculum de abusu rerum merae facultatis* 11–13.

lenged by the return of the first man. If M1 conceded and stopped his resistance, M2 would be legally recognized as possessing the water rights. This is an example of how in law a positive property right can be developed through *adverse possession*. In the course of this example, M1's natural right becomes blocked or defeated by the newly-established positive right of M2.[35]

What then did the members of the Rau family and Caspar Friedrich Dernbach think they were doing in Holzhausen in 1657? Like the later scholarship of Hauschild and Hertius, they sought to revitalize a lost or perhaps moribund ancient custom, namely a complex code for taking possession of noble real estate rights. Antiquarian scholarship, however, sought more or less to appreciate the past for its own merit, either as a cabinet of curiosities or to bolster the dignity of German civilization in comparison to 'the grandeur that was Rome'. Dernbach's wild ride rather more resembled the ancient constitutionalist programs of noble and burgher contestants against territorial rulers all across Europe and England in the seventeenth century, in which a party sought to demonstrate it had ancient rights which must be protected by the powers that be. This was based on the ancient constitutionalist idea that ancient right was transmitted down through the ages undiminished. This was very much a practical, modern use of the supposed ancient past. Ancient constitutionalism and state of nature arguments both referred to the actions of discrete individuals, that had consequences for the distribution of rights in present-day society. *Ex hypothesi*, the opposite was true for antiquarian interest in ancient customs. Whatever the quality of their scholarship, ancient constitutionalist treatises, such as Hotman's *Franco-Gallia* or more garden-variety work like Senckenberg's, were about real people and events which affected the distribution of right(s) in society.

By comparison, state of nature arguments were hypothetical, meaning that they proposed speculative hypotheses of general actors in stripped-down, idealized scenarios at the beginning of a civilization. Justus Möser used this approach for medieval European civilization; Grotius went back to the Garden of Eden to imagine the mechanisms of the chain of title. Estor's work on natural rights was heterogeneous to these, presenting a kind of eternal simultaneity of natural status

[35] For the role of prescription and imprescriptibility in arguments over lordly rights, see Wilder, *Property, Possession and Prescription* 354–467.

and civil status. His work showed that not all state of nature arguments looked like speculative, diachronic history; they could also be synchronic. Another difference was that while ancient constitutionalism was specific, state of nature arguments were also cellular, in that the characters and scenarios were supposed to be typical or representative.

While presenting an odd assortment of features, these three fundamentalisms clearly belong together. Together, they make clear that the idea of *primitive Germanic law* in the early modern period had a variety of meanings and uses. Moreover, all three of these had their *Nachleben*. State of nature arguments have been the reigning rhetorical paradigm in political philosophy and political theory for decades, arguably for centuries. Both antiquarianism and the humanistic research program in ancient constitutionalism drove the growth of the discipline of history (what the Germans call *Geschichtswissenschaft*, the science of history), via the technical editing and examination of sources. Antiquarianism and ancient constitutionalism also drove the historicization of law that blossomed in the work of later writers like Edward Gibbon and Gustav Hugo.[36] Far from being obscure concepts, these three uses of the notion of foundation turn out to be a veritable skeleton key for unlocking natural law, constitutionalism, anthropology and the history of classical and historical scholarship themselves. For as Niccolò Machiavelli taught: The beginning is a very difficult time.

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[36] Reference is to Edward Gibbon, *History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* (London, W. Strahan – T. Cadell: 1776–1788) and Hugo Gustav, *Lehrbuch eines civilistischen Cursus* (Berlin, Mylius: 1792–1821).

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